HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Where Is the 'War on Crime'?

"Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad," goes the old adage. And after observing the decisions of this country's leaders, that ancient saw seems as good as ever. Surely there is no better explanation for the daffy manner in which this Administration operates. Consider, as a prime example, the way in which it has been dealing with the crime wave engulfing the country:

• For several years the liberal Supreme Court majority has systematically secured for accused criminals such a phenomenal array of "rights" that it has become well nigh impossible to convict even self-confessed killers. James Killough, who took police to his wife's body after he acknowledged strangling her, is free today—thanks to the High Court. A man who slew his wife and five children only a short time ago found his indictment quashed, courtesy of Earl Warren and Co. And just this June the court, relying on a technicality, reversed the conviction of Wayne Bumper, who had raped a woman at gunpoint and then shot both her and her companion after he had tied them to a tree.

Indeed, so scandalous has been the court's conduct in turning lawbreakers loose that Congress felt impelled this year to modify many of the Supreme Court's decisions favoring criminals.

Yet what has been the Administration's response to all of this? President Johnson, with the majority of Democrats and Republican Everett Dirksen apparently in accord, has nominated Abe Fortas for chief justice and tapped Homer Thornberry to fill the vacancy on the court that will emerge once Warren decides to step down. Both men are ideological liberals, with Associate Justice Fortas having repeatedly teamed up with Warren to strike down the convictions of criminals and to uphold the cause of massive civil disobedience.

Thus the same Administration which does so much handwringing about the lawlessness sweeping the country is intent on perpetuating in power the liberal court majority that has helped to elevate crime to a new high in the United States.

• This, of course, is not all that has been absurd about the Administration's performance in the field of law enforcement. Since there has been much pointing with alarm to the rise in serious crime in the country, the Congress this year passed a law empowering the attorney general to use court-approved wiretaps. But Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, LBJ's "Mr. Big" on crime matters, has now bluntly proclaimed that he will positively not use this weapon to help solve criminal cases. Clark's idea of a war on crime, apparently, is to preach against poverty and capital punishment, but do as little as possible in placing killers and thieves behind bars.

Nor does this complete the list of incredible policies pursued by the present Administration and the liberal majority of the Democratic party. Consider another startling episode that has shaken the Washington community.

The Rev. Walter Fauntroy, vice chairman of the District of Columbia City Council, has refused to disavow fully the outrageous statement by the Black United Front that the slaying of a white policeman July 2 was "justifiable homicide." Fauntroy is a member of the BUF; demands for his resignation have been met with stony silence from Administration officials.

Det. Gilbert Silvia

Pvt. Lawrence Dorsey

Pvt. Eugene Williams

Pvt. Stephen Williams

Just since last Thanksgiving, these four District of Columbia policemen have been slain in the line of duty.

Still under a steady drumbeat of violence and arson since the April riots, the District of Columbia was recently shocked when two police officers were shot, one fatally, after their own service revolvers had been snatched from them in a struggle with a robbery suspect, his wife and son. From the stories of about a dozen witnesses to the tragedy, police provided this account of the fatal fight:

Privates Stephen Williams, 22, and Frederick Matteson, 38, both white, encountered a Negro in front of 1358 Columbia Rd., N.W., who told them he had been robbed of $34 on July 1 by Jonnie White, 38, also a Negro. A short time later the policemen located White in the vicinity and tried to place him under arrest, but after the handcuffs were attached to one of his wrists, White began fighting.

As the struggle continued, White's wife and son joined the battle and the four men fell to the pavement. The younger White, according to investigators, wrested Pvt. Matteson's gun from him and shot the officer twice. The elder White then grabbed Williams' gun and between them father and son pumped six shots into Pvt. Williams. He died almost instantly, hit by five shots in the body and one in the arm. Pvt. Matteson remains in critical condition. All three members of the White family have been charged with homicide.

While this tragedy was wrenching the Nation's Capital, an almost

Continued on page 4

NEWSPAPER

The Drive to Unionize Public Service Employes

Page 8

Ronald Reagan:

'Let's Close Responsibility Gap'

Page 6

Worries Grow Over Pueblo Crew

Page 11

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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CONTENTS

Politics '68 5
Let's Close the Responsibility Gap—By Gov. Ronald Reagan 6
Unionizing Public Service Employes 8
Would Chuck Percy Help the GOP Ticket? 10
Concern Grows Over Pueblo Crew's Safety—By Robert S. Allen and John A. Goldsmith 11
Races of the Week 12
Justice William O. Douglas Should Also Leave the Court—By Alice Widener 13
Unwanted Food Aid in Wibaux County 13
The Reagan Recall Drive—By Morrie Ryskind 14
What Does U.S. Gain From Paris Talks?—By Walter Trohan 14
Spotlight on Congress 15

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Capital Briefs

● Capitol Hill politicos are wondering how Sen. **Wayne Morse** will vote on the Fortas nomination. In an exchange of correspondence with Morse (then with the War Labor Board), who had accused Fortas of using "trickster" tactics in a jurisdictional squabble, Fortas replied that Morse was "completely unsuited for any position that required the exercise of judgment and balance," had conducted himself "as if he were bereft of his senses," and was guilty of "unscrupulous, undignified and irrational conduct."

● Insiders say the **AFL-CIO** has halted all other activity on Capitol Hill to lobby for the confirmation of the Fortas-Thornberry appointments.

● Here's one thing aiding senators fighting the Fortas-Thornberry nominations: **public opinion**. According to the Gallup Poll, unfavorable feelings toward the High Court now outweigh favorable sentiment by a 3-to-2 ratio. Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.), leading the battle to block confirmation, finds his mail running about 10 to 1 in favor of his position.

● Chief Justice John C. Bell Jr., of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, recently remarked: "The recent decisions of the **Supreme Court** of the United States which shackle the police and the courts and make it terribly difficult to protect society from crime and criminals are, I repeat, among the principal reasons for the turmoil and near-revolutionary conditions which prevail in our country, especially in Washington." The Warren Court, he said, had made "a dozen recent revolutionary decisions" in favor of "murderers, robbers, rapists and other dangerous criminals. . . ."

● The Soviets—and the Johnson Administration—have long contended the Reds aren't really behind Fidel Castro's efforts to spread communism throughout Latin America. It has now been revealed, however, that **Che Guevara's girl friend**, "Tania," a gun-toting lass slain in battle in the Bolivian jungles six weeks before Che himself got killed, was a Russian KGB agent. Her name wasn't Tania, but Haydee Tamara Bunke, daughter of a well-known East German Communist, who was born in Buenos Aires, but raised and educated in her father's homeland.

● An anti-Negro, anti-Semitic hate group, the National States Rights party, has set up a "Patriot Legal Fund" to defend **James Earl Ray**, accused slayer of Martin Luther King. Dr. Edward R. Field, a party leader who serves as the fund's secretary, said: "We have offered to defend free of charge, pay all legal costs, attorney fees, court costs, costs of appeal if there are any, and bonds."

● Rumania has again asked the **Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co.** to sell it an ultra-modern synthetic rubber plant that would cost more than $50 million and could be used for military purposes. Despite tacit encouragement from the State Department, indications are Goodyear will reject the request just as it did nearly four years ago on the grounds that this would jeopardize U.S. interests. (Shortly after Goodyear turned down the Rumanian request in late 1964, Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. agreed to construct a similar facility, but backed down after a concerted effort to stop the deal had been made by Young Americans for Freedom and Human Events.)

● Our chief negotiator in Paris, **W. Averell Harriman**, has again told the North Vietnamese that if peace can be achieved in Southeast Asia they can be on the receiving end of billions of dollars of U.S. aid.

● The forces of organized labor, particularly the International Association of Machinists, are among the most active proponents of the move now afoot to have a recall vote on California Gov. **Ronald Reagan**. It was just about a year ago that Big Labor was crying about the "undemocratic" tactics of some Idaho conservatives who wanted a similar recall vote on the state's Sen. Frank Church. The difference, of course, is that Democrat Church regularly casts his lot (and vote) with the Senate's pro-labor bloc.

● Political pros in New York say that **Nelson Rockefeller** will wait until after the GOP convention before naming a successor to Bobby Kennedy. Then, they say, if Rocky loses the presidential nomination, he could arrange to have himself named to the Senate.

● Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.) is still feeling nonplussed about a recent $25-a-plate Democratic fund-raising dinner in Oklahoma City. As McCarthy was leaving the dinner, entertainer **George Jessel** took the microphone and then said: "I want a country where people like Sen. McCarthy can express their views, but I don't want to wake up and find a damn Communist in front of my house."

● The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University has reported to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency that by 1976 **Red China** could well have up to 15 submarines carrying nuclear weapons deployed off the coasts of Hawaii and the continental U.S. The institution's 13-man research team's extensive report said Red China had not yet begun building this destructive fleet, but it was "likely" that construction of the submarines would take place "in the next several years."

● U.S. sources now show that **non-Communist flag ships** made 61 voyages to North Viet Nam in January through May—an average of about 12 a month compared with only 6½ a month a year ago.

● So, who believes in the **"domino theory"** that liberals are always pooh-poohing? The Soviet Union, for one. A recent issue of the Communists' New Times magazine accused Mao Tse-tung of wanting to conquer Laos, Viet Nam, Thailand, Cambodia, Burma, Nepal, Malaysia, Korea, Bhutan and Sikkim, as well as the Andaman, Ryukyu and Sulu Islands. American conservatives, of course, have been saying this all along, but the Soviet writer had "proof": A Chinese geography textbook, said the magazine, represented all these nations as "Chinese Territory."

● The **FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin** notes that during the recent racial disturbances a number of rioters and looters were "illegally wearing the uniform of the Armed Services for the purpose of disguising themselves as they participated in looting."

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Fortas Can Be Blocked

While a recent spate of news stories suggest that the coalition battling the Abe Fortas nomination as chief justice is collapsing, other signs indicate the opposition may well be picking up new members.

FORTAS

In addition to the 18 Republicans who are fighting the nomination, the private polls of Senators Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.) and Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.), leaders of the anti-Fortas drive, reveal that more than a dozen Senate Democrats have already passed the word that they will oppose any effort by Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.) to cut off a GOP filibuster.

"Illustrative of this 'silent' opposition," noted columnist Paul Scott, "is Sen. John Sparkman (D.-Ala.), who told the GOP senators when questioned about how he would vote:

" 'I have never voted for cloture since coming to the Senate and I don't plan to do so now.' "

Sen. Russell Long (La.), Democratic Whip, and Sen. Robert Byrd (W. Va.), secretary of the Democratic conference, have also tentatively planned to defy the White House by voting against Fortas' nomination should it ever come to a vote. Sen. Byrd only recently called upon the President and the Senate to approve judges who had a commonsense attitude toward law enforcement.

Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.), who warmly praised Fortas when he was picked for the Supreme Court in 1965, is now having serious doubts about voting to confirm him as chief justice. The Connecticut lawmaker is known to be extremely upset with Fortas' concurrence in the opinion delivered by Chief Justice Earl Warren in *United States vs. Robel*. In that astounding decision, the Court denied the right of the government to invoke its "war power" or the "concept of national defense" to safeguard U.S. defense plants against known Communists. Mere membership in the Communist party, the court decreed, was not enough to bar a man from an important security installation.

Dodd also believes that Fortas' associations with Communist fronts in the 1930s and 40s should be delved into as well as his attitude toward American security in general.

North Carolina's Sam Ervin has also indicated he will oppose Fortas. Ervin, who has been studying up on Fortas' decisions in criminal cases, is reported to be amazed at the associate justice's appalling record in this area (see *Human Events*, July 13, page 3).

President Johnson's backstage pressures against opponents of the Fortas nomination, moreover, are not bringing the results he desires. Sen. Griffin is continuing to battle despite Johnson's not-so-subtle attemps to frighten him from the anti-Fortas arena. According to columnist Scott, Sen. Hiram Fong (R.-

FONG

DODD

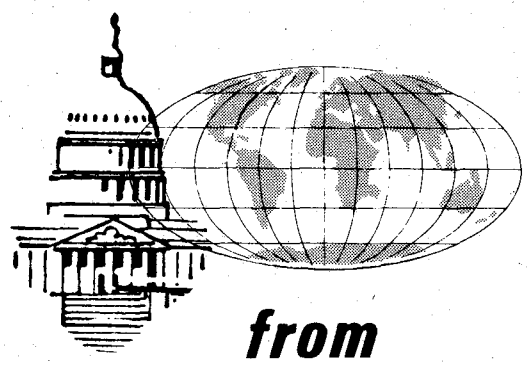
Hawaii) is more ready than ever to fight Fortas after receiving cajoling calls inspired by LBJ. Other GOP senators, under pressure to reverse their stands by Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.), are now talking of having one of their group challenge the Illinois senator's faltering leadership next year if he continues his tactics.

In the coming Senate floor battle, the campaign his Republican colleagues are planning to wage against the Fortas nomination could put Dirksen in a highly embarrassing position.

Their strategy calls for the highlighting of Fortas' decisions restricting police powers, particularly his crucial vote in the famous 5-to-4 *Miranda* decision. In speeches now being prepared, Sen. Fannin and others will subtly remind Dirksen that he fought to reverse the effects of these decisions in the Omnibus Crime Bill and that the confirmation of Fortas would negate Congress' action in this regard.

• While some senators have been tiptoeing around the real issues raised by the Fortas appointment and instead concentrate their fire on technical objections, Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.) got to the heart of the matter last week when he said: "In my opinion the permissive philosophy espoused by the Administration expressed in recent close decisions of the court—particularly those that shackle police, coddle the criminal and degrade the rights of law-abiding individuals—is on its way to being overwhelmingly rejected at the polls. We have already seen indications of such a rejection as the Congress passed the Omnibus Crime Bill undoing some of the mischief done by the court in these decisions, such as *Miranda vs. Arizona*. People are concerned about law and order. This action by the President and the chief justice to force a situation that would freeze the court on its present course for years to come is neither reasonable, nor ethical, nor fair. It certainly has the effect of denying the people their rightful voice in government."

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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Inside Washington

• In studying Fortas' record, a number of senators are now reading a small pamphlet authored by the associate justice called *Concerning Dissent and Civil Disobedience*. In this 1968 brochure, Fortas repeatedly endorses the mass demonstration tactics used by Dr. Martin Luther King, even though these tactics frequently erupted into violence. He also has some kind words for the riots which, claims Fortas, "produced some satisfaction of their [Negro] demands. . . ." Fortas does caution against "repeated acts of violence," but tells Negroes they will continue to move forward through "vigorous use of constitutional instruments of dissent and protest and mass demonstration . . . "(page 39).

Fortas also expounds a new bit of history and constitutional law which would sound strange to the Founding Fathers. He claims that "our Constitution and our traditions . . . teach us that city officials, police and citizens must be tolerant of mass demonstrations, however large and inconvenient . . . it is the city's duty under law, and as a matter of good sense, to make every effort to provide adequate facilities so that the demonstration can be effectively staged. . . . The city must perform this duty" (page 36).

Kosygin Likes HHH

The Humphrey bandwagon has a new passenger, Soviet boss Alexei Kosygin, according to *The Economist*, the influential British journal. The lead article in the current issue is entitled "One Vote for Hubert" and reports:

"Mr. Kosygin is voting early and he is voting for Hubert Humphrey. For the last few weeks the Russians have been dropping hints, in the United States and elsewhere, that they want the next President of the United States to be a man who will continue Mr. Johnson's policy of cooperation with the Soviet Union.

"They doubt whether Mr. Nixon would run his foreign policy that way, and they may be right. They have probably written off Sen. McCarthy's chances of getting the Democratic nomination. So they have accepted Mr. Johnson's year-old invitation [to resume disarmament talks] in the hope that this will help Mr. Johnson's chosen successor: Hubert Humphrey."

Republican strategists feel that Kosygin has handed them a perfect campaign issue. Humphrey aides are not talking for publication on the *Economist* report.

McNamara's Legacy

Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, recently revealed to the Senate's Preparedness Investigating subcommittee the legacy left by former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara.

WHEELER

Sen. Stuart Symington (D.-Mo.) asked Wheeler if he were becoming "apprehensive about the survival capacity of the United States, if things continue along these present lines?"

In testimony released July 7, Wheeler replied: "The answer is 'yes,' Senator. You put your finger on what I believe to be the key point, if these trends continue. . . .

"I submit that they do not necessarily have to continue by any means. That as a free society, with the leadership, with actions by the Congress, with appropriate actions by the appropriate departments of the government, these trends are not irreversible. . . .

"There is no question but that the Soviets, for example, have improved their military capabilities vis-a-vis the United States over the past several years. . . .

"But this does not have to stand still. We have it within our power, both brainwise and technology-wise; we have the economics, the broad industrial base, and certainly I hope we have it in the area of will and determination of the American people, to maintain ourselves as the leading world power, which is a position I think that is beneficial, if I may be parochial when I say this—and I do not want to sound flag-waving—I think it is beneficial to the world as a whole. But I can only answer you 'Yes' to your question in the short form."

The Castro Threat

While the Johnson Administration is ignoring the problem, Fidel Castro is reaching into the heart of the United States to train guerrilla fighters for war in America's cities. This startling information was revealed last week by *Washington Report*, the authoritative newsletter of the highly respected American Security Council.

According to the newsletter, Stokely Carmichael last year visited a guerrilla warfare camp in Cuba where he met some 200 trainees from all parts of the United States. Two days later Carmichael traveled to another training camp, La Campana, located in the mountains of central Cuba where trainees from the English-speaking countries of Africa are being taught to speak like the American Negro for the purpose of blending into U.S. cities to incite turmoil.

"Here in the United States," says *Washington Report*, "a Castro organization known as 'Cuban Power' operates from New York to Miami, setting off dynamite charges in front of private homes; tossing tear gas into Cuban exile parties, dances, rallies, night clubs and restaurants; telephoning late night threats to individual exiles; and extending their terror beyond the fringe of anti-Communist, anti-Castro exiles from Cuba into the centers of Negro and Puerto Rican communities where they can team up with like-minded revolutionists dedicated to destroying America."

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Rap's Replacement

The revolutionary Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee will be the driving force behind a new black political party whose symbol will be the black panther.

SNCC's new chief, 26-year-old Philip Hutchins, said the party will be dedicated to the destruction of "racism, capitalism and imperialism." Quoting "Chairman Mao," Hutchins says that SNCC plans to educate black Americans to the realities of white "oppression."

"We want to put something in his head before putting a gun in his hand. We must get angry and smart at the same time. The man wants riots, and black people in the streets. He has armed his police force and wants to kill black people. We've got to move on all levels and on all fronts—angry but smart."

Security officials report that the little-known Hutchins is a disciple of Malcolm X, Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael and that he has ties to the pro-violence Revolutionary Action Movement. An outspoken black nationalist, he has nevertheless worked with such white revolutionaries as Tom Hayden of Students for a Democratic Society.

More FHA Scandals

The scandal-plagued Federal Housing Administration has been rocked by new reports of what Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa) terms "scandalous mismanagement." Gross took the House floor to protest "negligence, administrative looseness and politics" in a $4-million, FHA-backed project in Des Moines.

GROSS

The project, sponsored by the Des Moines Area Council of Churches, is fully backed by the FHA. "Construction manager" of the project is Don Decker, a Midwest builder who was convicted in 1961 on federal fraud charges involving another FHA loan.

According to the Des Moines *Register*, Decker was later the developer of a La Visita, Neb., "new town" in which homes were flooded, streets broke up and buyers defaulted on their loans, forcing FHA to take over, repair and try to sell some 300 houses. Numerous lawsuits have been filed against Decker and his companies, according to the *Register*.

Because of his conviction, Decker was removed from the FHA list of those approved to do business with the government. But this "inconvenience" was soon remedied, as Gross reported last week.

"The Democratic National Committeeman in Nebraska called on the Justice Department to obtain a presidential pardon for Decker, and President Johnson responded with the same compassion and understanding that he has displayed for Lawrence Callanan, the convicted labor racket figure from St. Louis who also had such fine political connections."

Following the pardon, Decker was quietly reinstated on FHA's "approved" list and is now at work on the Des Moines project.

Gross was sharply critical of the FHA's action:

"These projects are 100 per cent backed by the federal government. If anything goes wrong it is the American taxpayers who pay the price."

Reds Use OEO

Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter Ed Montgomery recently testified before a congressional committee that Communists and radical leftists from San Francisco's Bay Area are using the facilities and resources of agencies funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Appearing before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Montgomery told how Cassandra Davis, Midwest representative of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, and Roscoe Proctor, Communist party functionary, used OEO-financed facilities to raise money to send demonstrators to the Poor People's Campaign in Washington.

Montgomery, an investigative reporter for the San Francisco *Examiner*, related that Proctor and Miss Davis were major organizers for the Poor People's Campaign and made sure that money was sent to the two of them in care of the Neighborhood House, 24th Ave. in Oakland, Calif. The Neighborhood House, said Montgomery, is funded by the OEO and that Proctor, the No. 1 aide to Mickey Lima, chairman of the CP in Northern California, has made the Neighborhood House "more or less his headquarters."

Montgomery also stated that San Francisco rioters in 1966 fired at police "from the Bayview Community Center, which is maintained as the 'War on Poverty' youth headquarters point." During the 1966 outburst, he added, four "officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity" were arrested and that in July 1967 the "war on Poverty" people brought in extreme racists to speak at the Freemont Elementary School. One speaker concluded that "This is the time to smash whatever you can, loot whatever you can, steal from 'Whitey.' Whatever you can do to 'Whitey' go forth and do it."

According to Montgomery, that's exactly what some of the audience did the following day.

• A 22-year-old George Washington University coed took the witness stand in District Court recently and identified an OEO official as the man she said tried to rape her last March.

The woman, a law student at the University, said Maurice Davis, 28, colored, of Morgantown, W. Va. accosted her on the Calvert Street side of the Taft Bridge.

"I was walking across the bridge when a man came jogging up beside me" she said. "He asked me if I wanted to make a quick $20 and I told him, 'No.'

"Then as I approached a park on the Calvert Street side he pulled me by the arm and knocked me down to the ground. I began to scream and he hit me several times over my left eye."

The woman said that during the struggle, she grabbed the man's wallet and ran to call the police. She said she entered a nearby hamburger shop and told the customers that a man had attempted to rape her, but that they ignored her pleas.

Continued from page 1

Where Is the 'War on Crime'?

equally stunning event was to follow. The Black United Front, supposedly comprising both "moderates" and "militants," passed a resolution calling the slaying of Pvt. Williams, "justifiable homicide."

Though no evidence of any kind has been produced to justify this "verdict," the resolution, passed unanimously by 150 members of the front, read in part:

"Be it resolved that:

"The methods of self-defense by the family charged with the alleged slaying of the honky cop is justifiable homicide, in the same sense that police are allowed to kill black people and call it justifiable homicide."

This incredible statement, beyond all bounds of human decency, virtually claimed the right of Negroes to murder an arresting officer. But equally outrageous as the resolution is the fact that the so-called "moderate" community leaders serving the Black United Front's steering committee—a committee which also includes the nonmoderate and pro-Communist Stokely Carmichael—pointedly refuses to repudiate this condoning of "cop-killing." Indeed, the statement was actually endorsed and defended.

The Rev. Channing Phillips, the District's Democratic national committeeman, not only approved the statement, but acknowledged having framed part of it himself.

Pouring fuel on the inflammable situation, Phillips on his own further charged that the police were a "colonial" force in the black community. He also suggested that he felt no sorrier for the death of Pvt. Williams than for the death of a Negro who last December had been shot and killed after lunging at Pvt. Matteson with a knife. Phillips' only public regret was that someone had supposedly surreptitiously substituted the word "honky" for "white" in the final mimeographed statement.

Another BUF official, the Rev. Walter Fauntroy—who is also vice-chairman of the LBJ-appointed city council—rose to the defense of BUF and the resolution, even though he had not attended the meeting at which the resolution was passed. After stinging criticism from the city's major newspapers and a few congressmen, Fauntroy finally conceded that he didn't agree with the statement's "inference that it is all right to kill."

But the city council's vice-chairman nevertheless declared he sympathized with the emotions that led to the statement, insisted that one must "look beyond the rhetoric" and asserted he had no intention of resigning from either the council or BUF. (This was far from pleasing to the D.C. Policemen's Association, which had formally demanded Fauntroy's resignation from the council, or to Iowa Republican William Scherle, who had claimed Fauntroy had no right to be "an officer in the city government and an officer in an organization pledged to disorder and violence.")

The Rev. Fauntroy also refused to heed the demands of the Independent Democrats which called on him to repudiate the front's statement and "to condemn the killing of four policemen in the line of duty—two of whom, Pvt. Dorsey and Pvt. Williams, were Negroes—within the last seven months."

City Hall, strange as it may seem, was also on the side of Fauntroy. D.C. Council Chairman John W. Hechinger—another LBJ appointee—vigorously defended Fauntroy's right to remain on the council, despite his affiliation with the racist and irresponsible BUF.

Hechinger claimed, further, that he felt that this was "precisely the position of each of the other individual councilmen." Nobody disagreed.

The President, who is largely responsible for law and order in the district, has said nothing about the whole event—not one word of criticism of BUF or of the inflammatory statement. Nor has "Sancho" Humphrey, who is always busying himself with city affairs and was last viewed lobbing footballs to kids in a district recreation clinic.

The President has also refused to criticize the Rev. Fauntroy, even though he appointed him and has the power to remove him. Nor has LBJ or Humphrey seen fit to chastise the Rev. Phillips for having helped to write the BUF statement, even though Phillips is a Democratic national committeeman.

District of Columbia City Council Chairman John Hechinger has backed Walter Fauntroy in the face of demands that Fauntroy resign. Hechinger reiterated his stand just last week.

In short, this Administration apparently finds it perfectly proper for leading Democrats—even LBJ appointees to the D.C. City Council—to belong to an organization that believes in murdering policemen. Thus does this Administration and the Democratic party wage its so-called war on crime.

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POLITICS '68

WALLACE

While Gov. George Wallace is supposedly doing well in the South, **responsible conservative sentiment** in Dixie appears overwhelmingly in favor of Richard Nixon—with some scattered support for Ronald Reagan.

NIXON

The **Shreveport (La.) Times**, a hard-line conservative publication, has become the first known daily newspaper to endorse Nixon for the presidency. Pre-convention endorsements are rare in the U.S., but in a full two-column editorial, the Times, noting Nixon's sweep of the primaries from the Atlantic to the Pacific, stressed that the former vice president "has presented strong, constructive and commonsense approaches to problems which now plague the nation." The Times praised Nixon's stand in opposition to "big government, big taxes, big crime and big welfarism."

Other conservative Southern papers, including the **Richmond Times-Dispatch** and the **Richmond News Leader**, also appear to lean toward Nixon. Both papers have blasted Wallace for hurting the conservative cause in the South.

Nixon, furthermore, continues to round up **impressive delegate strength** below the Mason-Dixon line. Most Southern leaders, in fact, predict that Nixon will probably get more than 90 per cent of the 334 Southern votes at the convention. Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.), relinquishing his favorite-son candidacy, has thrown his full weight behind the former vice president. The Florida delegates, under the leadership of state chairman William Murfin, are expected to be overwhelmingly for Nixon.

After Nixon met with the **Southern state Republican chairmen**, notes Battle Line, the American Conservative Union publication, most of them stepped forthrightly into Nixon's corner. Georgia State Chairman **Paul Jones**, who had previously been neutral, introduced Nixon at a dinner in Atlanta by saying, "For those who have doubts that this man could lead us to the White House, certainly this man has laid those doubts to rest."

North Carolina party chairman **James E. Holshouser** Jr. has issued a statement endorsing Nixon for President, while **Sam Carpenter**, newly elected Virginia party chairman, has reaffirmed his support.

Sen. **Strom Thurmond** (R.-S.C.), who headed up a conservative third-party movement in 1948, has also come out for Nixon. Though Thurmond's name will be placed in nomination as a "favorite son," the South Carolina Republican has not only endorsed Nixon for the nomination, but has persuaded South Carolina's delegates to back the former vice president.

Thurmond, who carries a **tremendous impact in the South**, says he favors Nixon because he "offers America the hope of recovering from domestic lawlessness; a bloody no-win war in Southeast Asia; runaway spending and rising costs of living; strategic military inferiority; loss of influence in world affairs; and a power-grasping Supreme Court."

While Thurmond made it clear he does not agree with Nixon on all issues, he stated: "I do say that Mr. Nixon is **the best of the candidates** of either party for America and for the cause of freedom. Mr. Nixon needs and wants our help, and we need him as our President."

• The latest Harris poll again shows how the **Wallace candidacy** will undoubtedly help Hubert Humphrey—or any other Democratic nominee. Says Harris, "Southern white conservatives like Mr. Nixon and in a two-way election would vote for him overwhelmingly against either Mr. Humphrey or Mr. McCarthy." With Wallace in the race, however, so many votes shift from Nixon that Humphrey is the winner. "And, in the end," notes Harris, "Mr. Wallace remains the Nixon spoiler in this election," by taking away his Southern electoral base—"the chief legacy of Barry Goldwater's run in 1964."

SOCIALIST MOVE

The Socialist party announced in Chicago that it has abandoned all efforts to create a third political force in the United States and, instead, will join with the left-wing Democrats. **Michael Harrington**, a New Left type and national chairman of the party, declared that Socialists will now work with dissident Democrats, black militants and anti-war activists in helping to secure the Democratic presidential nomination for Sen. **Eugene McCarthy**.

According to Harrington, this amalgamation will go "far beyond the New Deal" in advocating **government intervention** in the economy in behalf "of the poor and of the workers."

JACK METCALF

Edgar N. Eisenhower, Ike's more conservative brother, has signed his name to a fund appeal urging donors to help defeat Sen. **Warren G. Magnuson** (D.-Wash.) because Magnuson is a strong proponent of increased trade with the Communist countries. Magnuson's Republican opponent is State Sen. **Jack Metcalf**, who had previously been elected to the State House from a heavily Democratic district.

"I'm writing to you," the Eisenhower letter says, "because you have shown deep concern in the past about the future of this country. I'm asking you to help us defeat Senator Magnuson, who is now up for re-election.

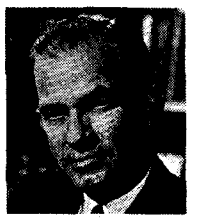
"His defeat would deal a strong blow to the liberal Democrats. It would be dramatic proof that Americans want **trade with Communists** stopped."

Eisenhower particularly scored Magnuson for introducing S 3363, an LBJ-favored measure to expand Red trade. Eisenhower stressed it was senseless to advance the Russians such items as **machine tools** because the Soviet Union can then "divert many of her own industries to war materiel itself." While we are trading, said Eisenhower, "The Soviet Union and her Communist allies are providing 85 per cent of the weapons being used by the **Communists in Viet Nam**—ranging from hand grenades, AK assault rifles and land mines to rockets, MIG aircraft and anti-aircraft guns.

"Yet the United States continues to expand its trade with Communist countries, thanks in large measure to the efforts of Sen. Magnuson. . . ."

ARKANSAS

Arkansas' political oddsmakers are predicting that the Senate's leading Viet Nam critic, Democrat **J. William Fulbright**, will be forced into a runoff primary as he tries for his fifth term. The first primary round will take place July 30, with the professorial Fulbright facing three challengers, segregationist James Johnson, populist Bobby Hayes and political gadfly Foster Johnson.



FULBRIGHT

The state's Negro population is upset with the incumbent senator over his failure to support **civil rights legislation**, an issue where Fulbright forsakes his otherwise strong liberalism and votes with the Southern bloc. If sufficient Negro voters stay home primary day, or give their votes to Hayes, who has little chance of making a good showing, it could mean that Fulbright would be forced into a runoff with **James Johnson**.

Johnson, an avowed segregationist who runs with open support from the White Citizens Council, surprised everyone when he won the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1966. With Fulbright facing this threat from the right, Arkansas Negro leaders feel he will be more willing to bargain for their support in the mid-August runoff.

Despite these difficulties, however, Fulbright will probably end up winning the Democratic nomination. Although Arkansans generally support the **Viet Nam war effort**, Fulbright is well-known throughout the state and many voters give him high marks for opposing LBJ on any issue.

The Republican Senate nominee, unopposed in the primary, will be **Charles Bernard**, a businessman who acts as state GOP treasurer. Bernard is generally regarded as the strongest Senate candidate the GOP has entered in recent years and, following the victory of Republican Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller in '66, could have Fulbright "running scared" in the fall.

KENNEDY

Sources close to **Teddy Kennedy** say the Massachusetts Democrat might be willing to run for vice president on a Hubert Humphrey ticket *if* Humphrey modifies his previous position on Viet Nam. Sen. Kennedy is described as feeling "very strongly" about his opposition to the war and that this issue so far is the "major barrier" to a Humphrey-Kennedy ticket.

KENNEDY

Meanwhile, support for such a ticket is growing in the Democratic party. A **Christian Science Monitor survey** indicated that the addition of Sen. Kennedy to the Democratic ticket could make the difference between defeat and victory of Humphrey. A Louis Harris poll has revealed that Kennedy would give Humphrey a clear boost.

Gov. **Philip Hoff** of Vermont, who had campaigned for Bobby, has said he will back whichever Democratic candidate selects Teddy for his running mate. Governors **Robert Docking** of Kansas and **Warren Hearnes** of Missouri also expressed support for a Humphrey-Kennedy slate, as well as California's powerful politico Jesse Unruh.

In Washington the speculation is that Sen. Kennedy and the vice president will soon sit down for a **quiet talk**, that Teddy will then issue a statement taking himself out of active politics for the time being, pledge his support for the presidential nominee of his party, but still leave open the question of whether he would accept the nomination for "Veep." As one Kennedy man sums it up: "I just can't see Teddy saying 'No' if the party really needs him."

ROMNEY

Gov. George Romney of Michigan, who faded from the national political scene after quitting the New Hampshire primary, has reemerged on the Republican scene as a potential **vice presidential candidate**.

Having reactivated his mailing list to reporters to help put himself back in the national spotlight, the governor is thought to be eager to accept an offer of second place on a ticket headed by Richard Nixon. Sen. **Robert Griffin** (R.-Mich.), who knows Romney well, insists the governor would take the VP spot.

Once thought to be close to Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller**, Romney has shied away from the New Yorker's dead-horse candidacy, partly because he still believes Rocky tried to pull the rug out from under him at the last minute. It is not felt at present that Romney will switch all the way and endorse Nixon, but his introduction of the former vice president at a recent Michigan dinner was extremely warm.

OHIO

Ohio Gov. **James Rhodes** is now pushing **John Lindsay** for vice president. Rhodes, long considered a Rockefeller supporter, apparently believes that Richard Nixon has sewed up the presidential nomination and is agitating for Lindsay's selection as his running mate.

Rhodes made a "very strong pitch" for Lindsay in a conference with Nixon last week but made no headway. The former vice president has ruled out such a ticket on the grounds it would present "grave constitutional difficulties," since both he and Lindsay are from the same state. The 12th Amendment to the Constitution says that "Electors shall . . . vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves."

For the first time since 1940, the Communist party will field a slate for President and vice president. Above, General Secretary Gus Hall, center, poses with presidential candidate Charlene Mitchell, right, and vice presidential candidate Michael Zagarell. Zagarell, 24, could not take office even if, by some wild, improbable chance, he were elected. The Constitution insists that the vice president must be 35 years of age.

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ELECTION YEAR REPORTS

To Enlighten, Inform, and Persuade Your Friends

1. ROCKEFELLER
"Nelson Rockefeller: 'Reluctant' Candidate"

Will he rule-or-ruin again? M. Stanton Evans, editor of the Indianapolis **News**, brings his formidable reporting talents to bear on Gov. Rockefeller: the man and the politician, from his New Deal days to the present. Now that the governor has finally publicly announced his candidacy, this timely, in-depth profile should be read by all voters. They *should learn why Rocky avoided primaries, how he* stands on the issues.

2. WALLACE
"The Rise and Stand of George Wallace"

A former Goldwater aide who regularly visits the South to keep in touch with the political picture there, focuses on the phenomenon of George Wallace—his personal background, his early rise in the rough-and-tumble of back-county politics and his current candidacy—what his chances are and what effect it could have on the November elections. Plus exclusive poll of how the nation's leading conservatives feel about the Wallace candidacy.

3. OTEPKA
"The Otto Otepka Story"

The whole incredible story of security scandals in the State Department and what happened to the man who exposed them are revealed in Otepka's extraordinary defense brief. If enough voters learn this story of State Department security breakdowns, it could be an explosive campaign issue.

4. 1968 ELECTION GUIDE

Compiled by the editors from the six-part "Election Information" series which appeared in **Human Events**, this guide is a small encyclopedia of facts that will help you understand the essential historical, statistical and legal information relating to the 1968 elections, and the men who will be involved in them.

5. REAGAN
"High Marks for Reagan's First Year in Office"

Lee Edwards, author of **Reagan: A Political Biography**, reviews the Reagan record as Governor of the nation's largest state, and finds much in it to praise. Includes excerpts from unofficial "news conferences," which reflect Reagan's candid views on the issues and his astuteness in handling the press.

6. SCHLAFLY ON THE GOP
"Don't Let Them Take It Away"

Phyllis Schlafly, author of such campaign best-sellers as **A Choice Not An Echo** and **Safe-Not Sorry**, zeros in on the behind-the-scenes plans of the liberals to take control of the GOP. Her conclusion: conservatives have what it takes to win, but could lose it all if they don't take the necessary action now.

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What America Stands For

Let's Close the Responsibility Gap

By GOV. RONALD REAGAN

We were born in revolution, but today there are those in our midst striving to engage our society in another revolution . . . even as we fight wars abroad and guard the freedom of the world. But their cause is not freedom. It is anarchy. And their aim is not to build a nation of laws, but to create a condition of tyranny. Tyranny of the mob, where might makes right and no man is safe in his own home.

Not for them a nation under God. They have decided, "God is dead." And if that is true, they had better check their own pulse. He is not dead; we just cannot pray to him in a school room.

The Founding Fathers were not destroyers. They built a nation. But today's domestic revolutionaries are like kids taking apart an old alarm clock. Success to them is finding a way to stop the ticking, but they haven't the vaguest idea how to put the clock back together again. They can rebuild none of what they would so carelessly tear down.

Cicero said, "A nation can survive treason from within, for the traitor appears no traitor. He speaks in an accent familiar to the victims and he wears their faces and their garments. He rots the soul of the nation. He works secretly and unknown in the night to undermine the pillars of the city. He infects the body politic so that it can no longer resist. The murderer is less to be feared."

Now, perhaps it will be said of using this quote of Cicero's that the inference is too harsh, that treason is not abroad in the land and no reference should be made to traitors. And yet, a convention was held at one of the nation's large universities just several weeks ago. The delegates were from some 250 chapters of Students for a Democratic Society.

One of the more moving moments occurred when two young women marched down the aisle and placed flags on either side of the stage—one, the red flag of communism, and the other, the black flag of anarchy—and 800 delegates cheered lustily.

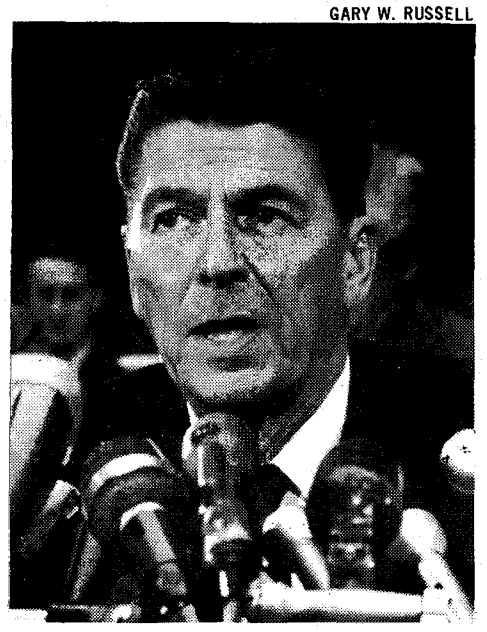
Then they turned to the business of the convention. You did not read much about it because they made each member of the press present identify himself and only those who represented Communist or leftist papers were allowed to remain.

They passed two interesting resolutions, somewhat contradictory: One—they would continue to encourage young men to resist the draft; the other—they would encourage their own members to get into the military service in order to subvert the men in uniform. And before the convention ended, they made it plain their aim is to overthrow the present system in the United States. This hardly qualifies as youthful hijinks, and some new version of the panty raid.

A University of California professor is hailed as the foremost literary symbol of the New Left by the New York *Times*. In his book he proposes left-wing dictatorship. He says people are confused about politics and they really do not know how to use freedom of speech correctly. It should be withdrawn from those who oppose the extension of public services.

Are you worried about gun control? Last May a leaflet was distributed on college campuses inviting students to Chicago this August at convention time and instructing them how to make fire bombs before they arrive. "Fill one soda or whiskey bottle with one-fifth sulfuric acid" and so forth and so on, in exact detail, concluding with this warning: "This is a highly volatile mixture, so be careful." Yes, be careful. We would not want anything to happen to these young intellectual irresponsibles.

GARY W. RUSSELL



"It is time to stop being our brother's keeper and try being our brother's brother."—Ronald Reagan.

And if traitor does seem too harsh a word, perhaps that is the word we are looking for—irresponsible. There is a responsibility gap in our nation, a lack of responsibility in government where leadership has been abdicated, a lack of responsibility on the part of those who use disagreement with government decisions as an excuse to shirk their responsibility as citizens to serve in the nation's military, lack of responsibility on the part of the courts, who seem to think their responsibility is to protect the rights of the accused to the point they fail to protect society against the guilty. A civil rights leader lacks responsibility when he forgets his responsibility to his people and uses them instead to further his own causes and beliefs.

We talk of sending a man to the moon? We cannot even guarantee a citizen's safety in a walk across the park. . . .

We have had enough of dividing our people into voter levels, setting class against class, race against race, for partisan political advantage. It is time to stop being our brother's keeper and try being our brother's brother.

There is an American out there who has been a forgotten man, perhaps because he asked little of government except freedom. He holds the whole bureaucratic structure of government on his tired back and he works two and a half hours of each day just to pay its cost. He and his wife are first in line to share food, clothing and shelter when catastrophe strikes a neighbor—even a neighbor who lives half a world away and speaks a different tongue.

This forgotten American is black, he is white, he is all the shades in between, and sometimes he wasn't even born here, but he built this country and he can do it again.

But the Zeitgeist—the wind of the times—is against us. The new social philosophy places no premium on the old virtues of thrift and self-reliance. The hand up has been replaced by the hand out.

Employment reached an all-time high this year and so did welfare, both in the number of people receiving it and the number of programs doling it out. Last year's 739,000 additions to the rolls made the total amost eight million, most of whom would rather be out on their own with jobs instead of caught up in the more than 450 welfare programs.

Eight Cabinet departments and 12 so-called independent agencies administer to their health. There are 35 separate housing programs, community assistance facilities were provided by 62 agencies, 33 federal agencies meddle in nearly 300 consumer protection agencies, and in just one medium-sized city, 140 separate urban projects have been found administered by seven federal departments. Thirty-six million Americans share in assorted government food programs and six million more get surplus food packages or help through the food stamp plan. Still we are told there are 10 million undernourished who must be helped immediately—and that means still more bureaucracy.

In the meantime, we hear of payroll padding, kickbacks and high administrative overhead as poverty funds are filtered through the political machinery of some of our cities. A convicted felon gets $300,000 intended for disadvantaged youths who remain disadvantaged as he cashes phony paychecks made out to ghost employes.

A $53 million program is divided $13 million for the poor and $40 million for administrative overhead. In Detroit a legislative investigating committee called the unkept promises of the poverty program fraud, explaining that promises were not kept because more than half the funds went to cure the poverty problems of the administrators. . . .

We can go on pinning our faith in a government that has shown no faith in the people or we can rediscover our own great ability to govern ourselves.

We would like to hear our government say: "Stealing the Pueblo and kidnapping our young men is a humiliation this nation will not endure."

Little minds and timid men do not build great societies; only a great people can do that, and we are a great people.

A young American not many years ago said something about what our country stood for—something about *Americans wanting the rest of the world* to know that we were willing to pay any price, bear any burden to make what we stand for endure and prevail.

There was no uncertain sound to the trumpet in John Kennedy's inaugural speech. The pity is that those who inherited the power and responsibility from him, including many of his own lieutenants, no longer hear that trumpet or recognize its grand notes.

In the days just ahead, whether we like it or not, you and I are going to write a page in history. It can describe the rise and fall of the United States of America or it can be a recital of our finest hour. Men will live a thousand years in the shadow of our decision.

This article is excerpted from Gov. Reagan's Fourth of July address in Columbia, Calif.

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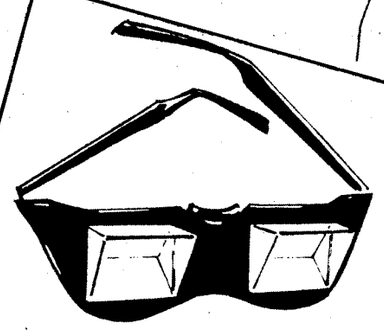

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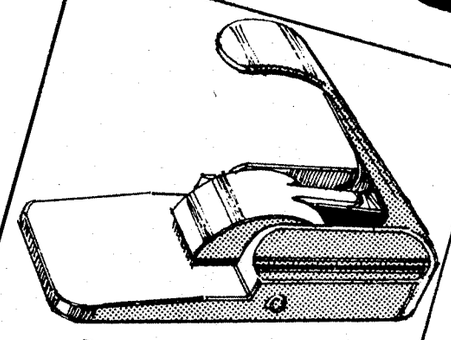

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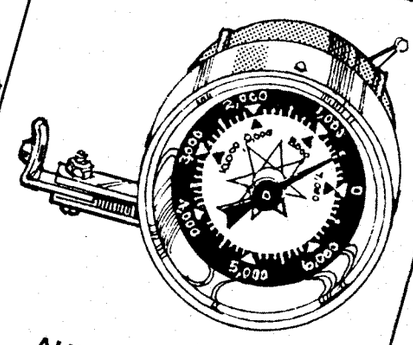

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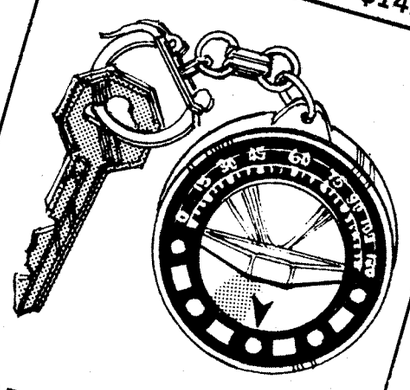

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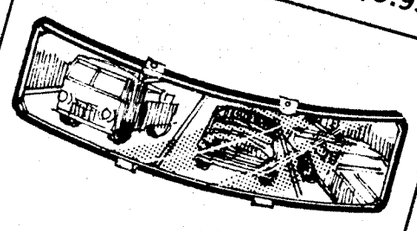

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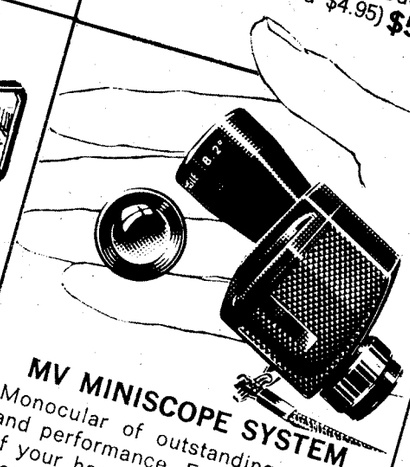

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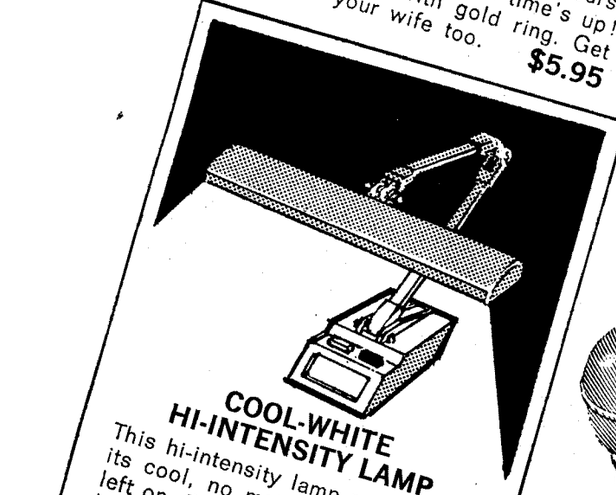

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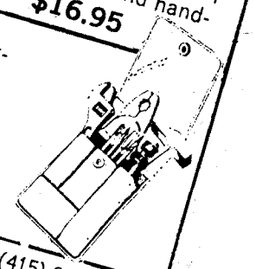

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Unionizing Public Service Employes

What does the nationwide organizing drive mean? Can it be stopped?

There is a massive union organizing drive now quietly taking place that could have a more significant impact on our society and economy than even the bloody sit-down strikes of the 1930s. The organizing is not being done in factories, but in schools, police headquarters, government offices and city halls across the country; the targets for the union organizers are public employes, whether on the federal, state or local payroll.

"The 1960s have already earned the right to go down in labor relations history as the decade of the public employe," observes Jack Stieber, director of the Michigan State University School of Labor and Industrial Relations. In fact, says Stieber, the growth of public employe unions "is the most significant development in the industrial relations field in the last 30 years."

There are now approximately two million unionized public employes, from janitors to firemen to welfare-social workers, an increase of over 60 per cent since 1958. While organized labor's share of the total work force has been declining in the past decade, its representation among workers in the public sector has grown from 13 per cent to a present 15 per cent.

"Employes in public service—local, municipal and county, and state—have been joining union ranks and/or engaging in collective action with increasing frequency," said one report to the 1967 AFL-CIO convention, and an array of statistics was displayed to prove the point.

Each of the three major AFL-CIO-affiliated unions active in public employe organizations showed whopping increases in paid per capita membership during the period 1965-67: The Federation of Government Employes increased in members from 132,000 to 196,000, the Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes grew from 237,000 to 297,000 and the fledgling Federation of Teachers leaped from 97,000 to 125,000.

The effects of this increased stress on unionizing workers on the public payroll have been substantial. Elected governments have found themselves in the unwanted position of bargaining agent for the taxpayers, with unions dickering for pay raises from public funds in the same manner they would bargain for corporate funds with business executives. And the governments, because of the vital necessity of public services and their obligation to keep them operating, have found themselves extremely vulnerable to threats of union disruption.

When local governments have balked at union demands, countless cities across the nation have been hard hit by costly and discomforting public employe strikes. In the past four years New York City has been subjected to strikes by public welfare, subway and sanitation workers; teachers walked out of Florida's public schools for several days earlier this year, as they have in numerous other communities; Kansas City firemen have "taken a day off," Cleveland hospital workers have struck, and Detroit policemen have threatened to strike.

In most cases the strikes have got results, as local governments, either fearful of antagonizing union members or unable to endure a prolonged public workers' strike, have acceded to organized labor. The vulnerability of local governments to organizing drives among its workers has encouraged labor to pursue this campaign in force; the lucrative contracts unions have won for public employes are causing many unorganized workers to greet AFL-CIO organizers with open arms.

This advantageous position has led the AFL-CIO into seeking new fertile fields for public employe organization, especially within the federal government.

The federation's first target is modification of Executive Order 10988, an edict by President John F. Kennedy in 1962 which reads:

Albert Shanker, head of the United Federation of Teachers, walks in a picket line during last fall's New York City strike.

"Employes of the federal government shall have, and shall be protected in the exercise of, the right, freely and without fear of penalty or reprisal, to form, join and assist any employe organization or to refrain from such activity."

Although organized labor at first welcomed this proviso, since it gave the chief executive's stamp of approval for organization of *any* federal employes for the first time, it would now like to see it changed. The AFL-CIO is lobbying hard to have President Johnson revise the order, dropping its "right to refrain" provision. In effect, the order would then require all federal workers to join a union or else pay the equivalent of union dues. Thus far, however, this drive has been thwarted.

Ironically, it was this Executive Order that originally paved the way for increased public employe unionization among lesser governmental units. Organizers were able to take the edict to a state or local government and say "Look, the federal government is letting us sign up its employes, why not yours, too?" And so dozens of communities found themselves, many times unwillingly, bargaining with unions, and more than 10 states have enacted collective bargaining laws for state employes since the Executive Order.

The growth in public unionism has been astounding and its implications far-reaching. Together with the increased union membership have come corresponding increases in government administrators' confusion, higher taxes to meet wage increases and a big jump in the number of strikes. In 1962, the year JFK issued his Executive Order, there were but 28 public employe strikes; by 1966 this number had risen to 150 and in 1968 there will most likely be that many strikes by teachers alone.

Since the trend toward public unionism began, teachers have been among the most eager and militant in their acceptance of unionization.

The reasons for this read like a lesson in basic civics: When a community's body politic becomes angry with rising taxes and fiscal mismanagement at all levels of government, it "strikes back" at the point where it can most effectively, and easily, cut expenditures on its own—the local school budgets. On one day in May 1968, for example, while Congress prepared to approve LBJ's proposed 10 per cent income tax surcharge, voters went to the polls in four New York suburban counties and rejected 24 local school budgets.

While the voters are usually right to suspect that a good part of the school budget gets wasted on administrative fat and educational frills, they often indulge their displeasure by refusing to give teachers an adequate raise in pay. Teachers, moreover, particularly those in the inner city, are not only upset by the lack of remuneration but the nasty conditions under which they are supposed to work. And it is on such frustrations that the AFL-CIO's American Federation of Teachers (AFT) has been capitalizing, to the tune of thousands of new members each year.

The AFT won its first negotiating contract in 1957 and since that time has grown to represent an estimated 150,000 teachers. One of its biggest boosts came in 1961 when its small New York City local of 5,000 campaigned successfully to win bargaining rights for 40,000 other teachers in the city. To show its muscle, the New York AFT union staged an 18-day teachers walkout as the fall semester was to begin in September 1967. Although its president was jailed for contempt of court, the New York local received the pay increase it was demanding.

The strike, or threat of strike, has become the most potent weapon in the teachers' union's arsenal; and, considering the community's reliance on teachers, a strike by this work force has more severe ramifications than by almost any other laboring bloc.

In the decade between 1955-65, the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics reported only 35 teacher work stoppages, but in the one year, 1966, there were 36. In 1967 this number rose to 98 and 1968 saw disruptive teachers' walkouts in Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Cincinnati, Montgomery County, Md., and the entire state of Florida.

The Florida strike has thus far been the country's most dramatic, although, as in other cases, it was called a "mass resignation" rather than a "strike." (This technical differentiation is made to get around state laws forbidding public employe "strikes," although it fools no one.)

In the fall of 1967 the Florida Educational Association (FEA) had collected undated resignation slips from the teachers it represented and threatened a campaign urging out-of-state teachers not to work in Florida (an action known as "sanctions") unless the state raised teachers' salaries. The FEA decided to activate the resignations on Feb. 21, 1968, and on that date some 25,000 of the state's 60,000 teachers "mass resigned."

The FEA action came in spite of a 1967 increase in the state educational budget totaling $245 million—including the largest single teacher pay raise in Florida history—and despite another increase in teacher salaries by a special education session of the state legislature in January-February 1968.

The rejection of these beneficent pay boosts belied the true intent of the strike leaders: The FEA was after nothing less than exclusive bargaining rights with local school boards for each teacher in the state.

The FEA did not win on this issue and finally accepted the pay increases offered. The strike was "broken" in an unusual but heartening manner, as thousands of community volunteers, most with no previous teaching experience whatsoever, came forth to fill the jobs of the teachers who had "resigned." Gradually the real teachers began drifting back, although some were not rehired; in cases of unsatisfactory or incompetent teachers, local school boards treated their "resignations" as just that—resignations.

Another underlying element of the Florida episode is the nationwide struggle of the National Education Association (NEA), of which the FEA is a state branch, to catch up with the AFL-CIO's American Federation of Teachers in militancy.

The NEA, with over one million members (most teachers used to join as a matter of routine), is far larger than the young union, but it has traditionally emphasized the "professional" aspects of education, conducting legislative and research projects to upgrade the profession.

A series of dramatic victories by the AFT in winning bargaining rights for teachers—in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Washington, Boston and Detroit, among others—caused the NEA to reassess its approach to representing (and keeping) members. The Florida showdown was to be the NEA's first attempt to go beyond "sanctions" in forcing a state government to grant its demands, and reports were that the association had its eyes on several other states as possible "mass resignation" targets if the Florida adventure paid off. Because of the inconclusive nature of the Florida strike, however, the NEA may think twice before trying another statewide effort, although strikes on the local level will likely continue.

Ironically, strikes (even under the guise of "mass resignation") by teachers or other public employes have long been taboo, either by explicit state law or

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common understanding. Eighteen states have no-strike laws on the books, courts in at least 10 states have ruled against public employe strikes, and in many others such work stoppages have been prohibited under the assumption that disruption of public services was unconscionable.

In recent times, however, government officials have become loath to enforce the no-strike laws, for fear of politically alienating organized labor, and the unions have diluted their collective conscience.

New York state, for example, had an act denying wage increases for any public striker for three years, but between 1947 and 1967 it was enforced in only eight of 20 possible cases. In 1967 the state's liberal Republican governor, Nelson Rockefeller, had the law supplanted by another which expressly prohibited public employe strikes, but the governor promptly began ignoring the very law he inspired.

In both the '67 teachers strike and '68 sanitation workers strike, although the leaders of the unions involved were jailed and fined for disobeying the law, Rockefeller refused to enforce it to get the striking public employes back on the job. In both cases the workers stayed out until they were granted whopping wage hikes.

(Public opinion polls, meanwhile, show the American citizenry to be firmly against public employe strikes. A 1967 Louis Harris poll showed 77 per cent of the sample approved the fundamental right of workers to strike, but only 48 said they would accept this privilege as applied to public employes. A 1968 Gallup poll reported that 57 per cent of its sample indicated they did not think public school teachers should be permitted to strike, with only 36 per cent saying teachers should have this right.)

In spite of the flamboyance of the teachers' strikes, the most militant of the public employe unions remains the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes and its president, Jerry Wurf, is one of the most militant leaders in all of organized labor. The AFSCME now represents close to 400,000 public workers and, it claims, is adding 1,000 new members a week, a figure three times the rate of any other AFL-CIO union.

President Wurf proclaims that the union's ultimate goal is an astronomical 10 million public employes, which would make it far and away the largest union in the country. At first glance the figure seems outrageous, but it should be remembered that an estimated six out of every 10 new jobs in this nation are in what is called the "public sector."

And Wurf is going all-out to enlist this burgeoning new work force in the AFSCME, making strong demands and organizing militant strikes if they are rejected. (The recent Memphis garbage collectors strike, during which Dr. Martin Luther King was assassinated, was organized and financed by the AFSCME.) "The old days of wheedling and begging, of pleading with civil service executives or mayors, or governors, or councils are on the way out," trumpets Wurf; "Done! Obsolescent!"

With all this activity—organizing, striking, building membership—among local government employes, it would seem organized labor would be happy with its new reservoir of unorganized manpower and concentrate on unionizing them through existing channels. It is not satisfied, however, and, characteristically, is seeking more federal government assistance to increase the union rolls.

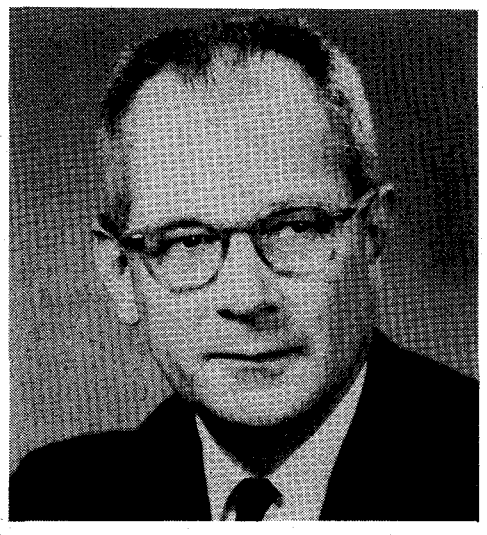
President Kennedy's Executive Order 10988 has had considerable effect in organizing public employes in state and local governments and six years after the order permitting federal workers to join unions was passed, nearly 800,000 have done so. This, however, was not good enough for the AFL-CIO.

"The AFL-CIO played a major role, in cooperation with the Administration, in bringing that order into being," federation President George Meany told the 1967 AFL-CIO convention, "and we are continuing to pursue improvements in its terms and administration."

One of the "improvements in terms" Meany had in mind was altering the order to effect compulsory unionism in the federal government, and shortly before this speech the AFL-CIO had successfully persuaded President Johnson to name a Labor-Management Review Committee to consider just such a provision. "The time has come," LBJ declared in announcing the committee, "for a public review of our five years of experience under Executive Order 10988—what the program has accomplished and where it is deficient—and for consideration of any adjustments needed now to ensure its continued vitality in the public interest."

Lending credence to the suspicion that the committee would advocate some form of compulsory unionism for federal workers was its heavily pro-union membership: Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz, presidential adviser Joseph Califano, Defense Secretary (then presidential consultant) Clark Clifford, Civil Service Commission Chairman John Macy and Budget Director Charles Zwick. Perhaps only Macy and Zwick could be considered skeptical, however slightly, of compulsory federal employe unionism. Soon other comments and reports came to light further indicating the committee's direction:

• In October 1967, AFL-CIO chief Meany told the review committee that "it is . . . appropriate for negotiated agreements to specify that those workers in the covered unit shall become dues-



Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz was among those on the committee considering a review of federal union representation.

paying members or shall support the union with regularly checked-off payments equal to the regular union dues."

• On April 2, 1968, B.A. Gritta, head of the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Department, told a convention of the Operating Engineers Union (a union with many members among government employes): "I am confident that within the very near future that we will be able to negotiate union security provisions in our contracts with the government, or at least have an agency check-off, a method of collecting the dues. . . ."

• In mid-April review committee member John Macy told a press briefing that the five-member group was considering "union security as it relates to something more than dues check-off," but refused to elaborate.

• In late April and early May, two excellent Washington reporters whose "beat" is federal employes, the *Post*'s Jerry Klutz and *Evening Star*'s Joseph Young, both reported the committee was deliberating over the union security issue and preparing to endorse some form of compulsory membership.

(The dues "check-off" term refers to a collection method whereby employes in a bargaining unit represented by a union who did not want to formally join the union would still have to pay a fee equal to the union dues levy if they wished to keep working at their positions.)

The President's Labor-Management Review Committee was due to complete its report to the White House by the end of April; by the end of June it had still not been delivered.

The National Right to Work Committee took—and deserved—credit for having stalled the report, as it had urged its supporters to write the President, their congressmen and key congressional committee chairmen protesting compulsory unionism for government employes.

The Right to Work Committee's role was also reported by *Evening Star* columnist Young, who revealed the reasons for the Administration's reluctance:

"Issuance of a new presidential order on government employe unions' collective bargaining rights has been delayed. Administration officials indicate the main reason for the delay is the political implications of the intensive campaign waged by the National Right to Work Committee. . . ."

With comments such as this found increasingly in the press, an aide to Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz felt it necessary to announce that "there have been many speculative reports in the public press and rumors concerning possible recommendations of the President's Review Committee. . . . These unfounded reports included speculation on proposed requirements for union or agency shop for federal employes."

Later Wirtz himself flatly declared that the committee "does not intend to recommend a union or agency shop for federal employes." Thus, the National Right to Work Committee had apparently scored another stunning triumph to add to its long list of impressive victories in the battle against compulsory unionism.

Althought the NRTWC's opposition to compulsory unionism is based on the fundamental right of workers to join or refrain from joining a labor organization, as defended in JFK's original Executive Order, its objection to federal employe forced unionization has added motivation. For one thing, it notes, if every federal government worker were required to pay union dues of only $5 per month, this would total an incredible $180 million per year. The influence such a war chest could have—in politics, in further organizing, in funding strike operations—is quite immense.

Another factor is the effect of traditional hard-nosed union organizing tactics on workers in sensitive government jobs. The leader of the largest independent federal employe union, Nathan Wolkomir of the National Federation of Federal Employes, says "the introduction into the federal service of various bare-knuckle type organizing methods, taken from private sector unionism, has had widespread adverse effects."

Beyond these practical factors, however, is the over-all problem of unionism among any public employe group. Elected officials and government managers, labor experts note, are not trained in collective bargaining or other aspects of labor-management relations and cannot foresee the long-range implications of a bargaining contract they may be forced to sign; these experts note the public employe unions' efforts to influence policy decisions as an example of government officials' misjudgment.

On the other hand, if the officials refuse the unions, labor can threaten dire political consequences. In either case, the public is left in the middle, caught in an all but inextricable bind, vulnerable to distress no matter what decision is made.

"What happens to your precepts of representative government if the legislature has to conform to collective bargaining?,' is the way George W. Taylor, labor relations expert from the University of Pennsylvania, characterizes this dilemma. "These are terrific problems. I don't think you can solve them simply with muscle and by being kinetic. A whole new set of concepts

Sen. Wallace Bennett, left, and Rep. Ben Blackburn want to give federal employes the right not to join a union.

has to be worked out. It won't be, you know. It's going to be a mess for generations."

There will be little immediate danger of this being the case in the federal government if Congress passes bills that have been introduced by Sen. Wallace Bennett (R.-Utah) and Rep. Ben Blackburn (R.-Ga.). Not being content with the assurances of Secretary Wirtz, the Republican politicos are pushing ahead with the legislation they originally introduced to thwart any possible decision by the President's Review Committee to permit government employe forced unionism.

The sole purpose of both bills (S 3843 and HR 17411) is to put into law the language presently existing in President Kennedy's 1962 Executive Order, thereby legally guaranteeing the right of federal employes to join or refrain from joining a union or paying union-scale dues.

"I am not opposed to an employe joining a union, either in the private sector of our economy or in the federal service," says Sen. Bennett, a former national president of the National Association of Manufacturers. "I think this is a very important right for all Americans. I believe equally, however, that no American should be forced to join a union by the government or private industry in order to retain his job. The right to refrain is every bit as sacred and as important as the right to join. It is both rights which my bill will protect."

Undoubtedly unionism will continue to spread and grow among public employes on the state and local levels of government, and this will present a continuing challenge to citizens of communities across the nation. They can act to have their state pass strict laws prohibiting work stoppages by public employes and they can pursue the campaign for state right-to-work laws. In another direction, especially as pertains to teachers, they can make sure public employes' wages and benefits are kept on a par with other workers in the community.

On the federal level, citizens can write to urge their representatives and senators to pass legislation enforcing the language of President Kennedy's Executive Order of 1962. Congress must pass the Bennett and Blackburn bills if federal employes are to be ensured the freedom to refrain from joining a union and if government officials are to be ensured the freedom to run the country without fear of labor union threat and reprisal.

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Would Chuck Percy Help the GOP Ticket?

As former Vice President Richard Nixon appears on the verge of wrapping up the Republican presidential nomination in Miami, there are some ominous signs that he may decide to tap Illinois' Sen. Charles Percy to be his running mate.

Percy, it is being argued, is a natural asset. He's young—48—attractive and comes across on that all-important political medium, television. A self-made millionaire, he has the confidence of the business community. And he would, so this line of thinking continues, provide both geographical and ideological balance to a Nixon ticket.

Yet far from aiding the Republican party, a Nixon-Percy combination would court disaster.

As the polls have now conclusively revealed, George Wallace, not Hubert Humphrey, remains the greatest single threat to a Nixon triumph in November. Wallace, although basically a populist, says many things that appeal to conservatives. And he has been rounding up votes from potential Republican supporters by demagogically charging that there's not a "dime's worth of difference" between the two major parties.

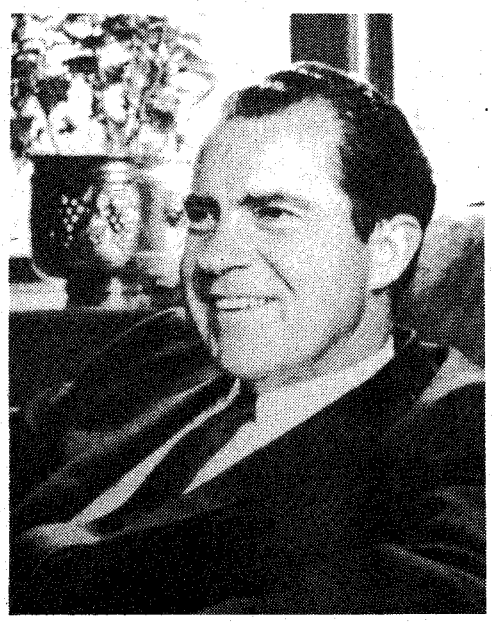
Wallace Threat

For Nixon to effectively counteract the Wallace threat, he must prove that the ex-Alabama governor is dead wrong; he must persuade the skeptics that he, Nixon, is fundamentally conservative and that a vote for Wallace is, in actuality, a vote to put Hubert Humphrey, a founding father of Americans for Democratic Action, into the White House.

But the Nixon task of convincing the doubters of his conservative credentials will be almost impossible if Percy is part of the Republican presidential ticket.

Indeed, on looking over the record, it is even difficult to see how Percy could conscientiously campaign on Nixon's behalf, for on almost every crucial issue that confronts the United States—from the Supreme Court to Viet Nam—the Illinois liberal stands opposed to Nixon's position.

Take, for example, the crucial area of law and order. While Nixon has placed part of the blame for the rising crime rate in the country on Supreme Court decisions, Chuck Percy feels differently. "I think the Supreme Court is tops in that field," Percy recently stated, blithely contradicting the evidence. "I have never been able to attack the Supreme Court, even when talking to the most militant groups of Republican women." (Politicos, by the way, shudder to think what Wallace would do with that quote if Percy pops up on the GOP ticket.)



Richard Nixon, well on his way to a possible GOP convention victory, would be well advised to look elsewhere than Sen. Percy to fill out the party ticket.

Nixon specifically endorsed Title II of the recently passed Omnibus Crime bill, the section which attempts to modify a number of High Court decisions that have favored the criminal. Percy, as LBJ and the Senate liberals desired, voted on May 21 to kill Title II outright, remarking a short time later that he had become "very concerned about the legislature trying to seize the initiative from the judiciary" on criminal law matters.

Nixon has opposed the elevation of LBJ crony Abe Fortas to chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court; but Percy has made it plain he will not oppose the nomination, even though Fortas has repeatedly sided with the liberal majority's rulings to turn criminals loose and to permit known Communists to work in U.S. defense plants.

Percy's differences with Nixon in the field of foreign policy are no less striking. Unlike the ex-vice president, he has repeatedly criticized the Administration's escalation of the U.S. war effort in Viet Nam. Last year he was trumpeting for a unilateral cessation of the bombing and arguing against any action that might antagonize the Red Chinese.

When a delegation of clergy and lay protestors came to Washington for a "peace mobilization," noted Chicago *Tribune* columnist Willard Edwards, "Percy soothed them by talk of de-escalation of the war in Viet Nam, discussed an Asian peace conference in which the United States would be an observer only, and talked about admission of Communist Viet Cong into a government for South Viet Nam."

Nor are the senator's accommodationist policies confined to Southeast Asia.

Within the space of a few short months in early 1967, Percy had called for curbing the war in Viet Nam, cabled his New Year's greetings to the Soviet Union, applauded LBJ's move to expand trade relations with Communist powers and energetically backed the proposed consular treaty with the Soviet Union.

Detente with Reds

Before the Michigan State Republican Convention in February 1967, Percy elaborated his views on how we should treat the Communists: "Without risking the nation's security, we can take more practical steps toward harmonious East-West relations this year than perhaps at any other time since the Cold War began. It is my hope that the Republican party will lead, not lag, in this gradual movement toward detente. It is my conviction that the Republican party *must* lead in a rational discussion of flexible, creative foreign policy, leaving the cant and chauvinism to others."

Remarking that he favored the proposed FIAT deal, under which the United States was to supply the Soviet Union at least $50 million in high-quality machine tools, Percy declared: "If increased East-West trade is to become a reality, if we are to ratify the Consular Convention and the agreements which will follow it, then the United States must be prepared to adjust much of its foreign policy and its thinking." "For we are dealing here," he went on, "with more than mere bridge-building between East and West; potentially, we are dealing with the beginning of the end of the Cold War. . . . Let us deal with the real world, not with a world of make-believe in which all Communists are equally villainous and America is presumed to be 99 44/100 per cent pure."

GARY W. RUSSELL

At a recent District of Columbia GOP gathering, Sen. Percy (right) received a warm welcome from liberal Gilbert Hahn Jr., who is now the state chairman of the District GOP. Percy's stated positions on many conservative issues are at variance with that of most Republicans.

Opposed ABM System

Percy's faith in non-villainous Communists may account for his June 24 vote in favor of the Hart-Cooper proposal to postpone indefinitely the deployment of our first anti-ballistic missile system. Reliable evidence indicates that this system, once fully deployed, should be able to cope, at least partially, with a missile attack launched from either the Soviet Union or Red China.

Nixon has long favored ABM deployment, but Percy banded together with the Senate's liberals to oppose its construction. Happily, the "anti" crowd failed in its mission to knock out our first attempt at creating an effective missile defense program.

The sad fact is that Percy seldom sides with the conservative Republican majority. The left-wing Americans for Democratic Action, for instance, has given Percy a 38 per cent liberal voting record, whereas his Illinois colleague, Sen. Everett Dirksen, the GOP minority leader, scores only 8 per cent. According to the AFL-CIO's COPE, Percy has voted "right" a whopping 64 per cent of the time; Dirksen only 25 per cent.

And the latest findings of Americans for Constitutional Action handed the junior senator from Illinois a lowly 41 per cent conservative rating. The senior senator, by contrast, voted right 68 per cent of the time. The "chasm between Sen. Percy and Sen. Everett Dirksen and the GOP House members from Illinois," wrote George Tagge in the Chicago *Tribune* recently, "leads one to wonder how this state could sponsor [Percy's] advancement."

Almost everywhere one looks, one finds Percy opposing popular conservative GOP issues.

Backs Liberal Causes

He has fought measures to revise the Supreme Court's edicts eliminating prayer in the public schools and requiring congressional reapportionment under judicial direction.

He has also been in opposition to Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley labor law which permits states to pass laws forbidding compulsory unionism. When Percy was thinking of running for senator in 1966, he initially balked at supporting the retention of this section for fear of alienating the labor unions. When Sen. Dirksen summarily told Percy he wouldn't get Dirksen's backing unless he endorsed 14b, Percy finally came around. Even today, however, Percy—in contrast to Nixon—remains a reluctant supporter of voluntary unionism.

Time after time, moreover, Percy has favored the Democratic approach to welfare. In a *Playboy* magazine interview, Percy remarked he looked with favor on "federally subsidized experiments with educational parks in the midst of the cities. . . ." "Isn't it unrealistic," Percy was asked in the same interview, "to propose costly new anti-poverty projects at a time when many of your Republican colleagues have become so disenchanted with the Administration's 'War on Poverty' that they've suggested abandoning the entire program?"

"I don't think so," Percy responded.

Thus, Percy turns out to be a liberal in the image of Rockefeller and Lindsay. To place him on the Republican ticket would be sheer folly.

It would, first of all, cloud Nixon's own distinctively conservative image that enabled him to sweep every Republican primary. It would, secondly, be used by Wallace to great advantage to destroy the Republican party in the South. And it would, finally, elevate the junior senator from Illinois to a status he has not yet earned within the Republican party. In short, Nixon should deliver a firm "No" to Mr. Percy.

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Concern Grows Over 'Pueblo' Crew's Safety

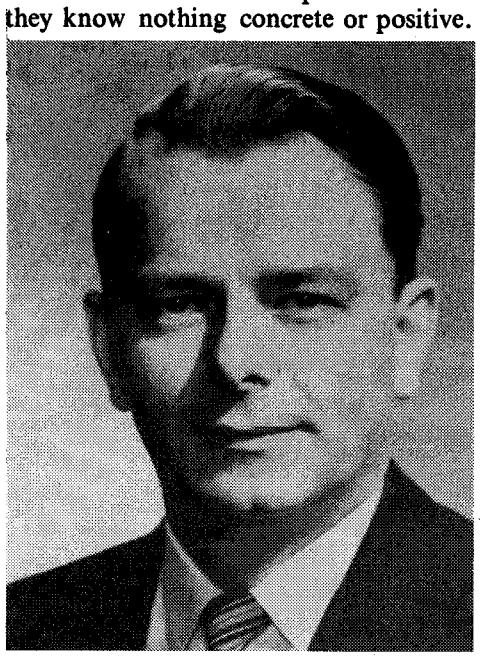
By ROBERT S. ALLEN and JOHN A. GOLDSMITH

Disturbing doubts are growing over the nature and extent of the "humane treatment" the 82 *Pueblo* crewmen are getting from their North Korean Communist captors.

Five months of direct negotiations and other unpublicized efforts not only have been fruitless in securing the release of the men, but equally disquieting is the scant information about their whereabouts and physical condition.

What little has been put together is not too reassuring.

U.S. authorities take pains to stress they know nothing concrete or positive.



Sen. Robert Byrd (D.-W. Va.) noted that the Administration appears to know little about the fate of the Pueblo crewmen.

Officially, they carefully shy away from saying or intimating anything that might give rise to alarm.

But private hints indicate there is apprehension over the fate of the imprisoned crewmen. No one goes so far as to say there is a possibility that casualties have occurred among them. But this dire likelihood is left dangling.

A highly significant comment on the matter was made by Sen. Robert Byrd (W. Va.), deputy Democratic floor leader, in a broadcast to his state. For this reason it escaped general notice and the attention it merited. Following is Byrd's reply to a question about the *Pueblo*:

"I know of nothing new. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have turned thumbs down on any military moves because in their opinion these would result in the death of the men and the opening of a second front in Asia. Our government is continuing efforts to bring about the release of the men through direct negotiations and diplomatic channels. I imagine the North Koreans will hold the men until such time as they feel they have milked all of the propaganda value out of this affair."

"Do we know anything about the present health of the men?"

"I cannot say that we do."

"Are they all living, do we know that?"

"I cannot say that they are with certainty," replied Byrd, obviously carefully weighing his words, "and I doubt that anyone knows for sure that they are."

From intelligence reports, it would appear that the 82 crewmen are incarcerated in more than one prison camp. There is also good reason to believe they have not been allowed to receive packages and mail sent them through the International Red Cross.

It is definitely known that all the *Pueblo*'s communications and electronic equipment has been removed, and the vessel shifted to a small port near the Soviet border.

★ ★ ★

Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark is being bluntly challenged to state publicly what he proposes to do about prosecuting former Rep. Adam Clayton Powell "for misuse of federal funds."

This demand was made by Rep. Thomas Curtis (Mo.), second-ranking Republican on the powerful Ways and Means Committee, and leader of the fight that led to Powell's expulsion from this Congress. Early last year a special committee, following an inquiry, recommended that he be seated on condition he repaid $40,000 "wrongfully and willfully appropriated" and publicly apologize to the House.

But under Curtis' vigorous leadership, the House, while demanding the return of the $40,000, refused to seat Powell. This action has been upheld by two lower courts. Powell's appeal is now pending before the Supreme Court.

In calling on Atty. Gen. Clark to "come clean," Curtis cited information disclosed in this column some weeks ago. The column revealed that Assistant Atty. Gen. Fred Vinson, head of the Criminal Division, following an exhaustive investigation by FBI agents and a federal grand jury, had recommended that Powell be indicted and brought to trial.

After a detailed study of these findings, Clark took them to President Johnson. They discussed them at length several times—and nothing has happened since.

The affair is shrouded in tight official silence and secrecy. But Curtis blows it wide open in a blunt letter to Clark demanding an explanation.

"It is difficult to perceive," declared Curtis, "how we are going to maintain law and order in our society if those in high places interfere with the normal course of justice."

It is Curtis' emphatic contention that if Powell is elected to the new Congress that convenes in January, he would still be subject to expulsion.

"He would still have to face the same charges he did in this Congress," declares Curtis, "of 'wrongfully appropriating' $40,000. That hasn't changed one bit. Powell was accused of criminal activities by his peers. I don't see how the House could ever change its mind about that. The overriding question is still the integrity of the House, and that doesn't change."

Meanwhile, action is being stalled on Assistant Atty. Gen. Vinson's recommendation that Powell be prosecuted.

"It is my understanding," Curtis wrote Atty. Gen. Clark, "that this recommendation is not being implemented because of your intervention in referring the matter directly to President Johnson and the President's intervention."

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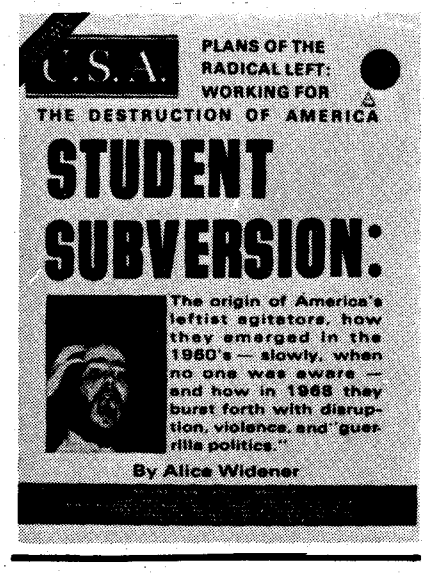
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RACES of the WEEK

This is another installment of our regular pre-election feature, "Races of the Week." Each week until November, **Human Events** will cover as many key election contests as space permits.

Illinois' 9th District

Krasowski vs. Kluczynski

Last September Rep. John Kluczynski (D.-Ill.) arrived in Europe for an official "fact-finding tour" that took him to England, France, Austria and Italy. While there, the *Wall Street Journal* subsequently reported, Kluczynski pocketed 19 days in congressional per diem expenses. The only trouble was that the congressman's trip lasted *16* days.

A terrible mistake, said Kluczynski, promising to make restitution. "After all these years of legislative duty, I can't afford a scandal."

He wasn't kidding. For the veteran congressman faces the fight of his political life from an energetic young Republican, State Sen. Joseph J. Krasowski.

JOSEPH KRASOWSKI

An outspoken conservative, Krasowski made his first race for office two years ago, ousting an entrenched Democrat who had won two years earlier by more than 20,000 votes. Running strongly throughout the blue-collar district on Chicago's southwest side, Krasowski capitalized on the very issues he is using in his congressional campaign: crime in the streets, high taxes and runaway inflation.

Despite his 18 years in Washington, Kluczynski is considered vulnerable. For five elections in a row his winning percentage has declined, from 76.6 per cent in 1958 to 56.8 in 1966. A survey conducted by Market Opinion Research indicates that less than 30 per cent of the 9th District voters even know who Kluczynski is and nearly 60 per cent of the voters have no opinion on the job he has done.

The district has in past elections gone Republican. Two years ago every major GOP candidate carried the 9th, with County Board President Richard Ogilvie leading the way. Ogilvie will again be on the ticket, this time as the party's nominee for governor.

Krasowski has opened full-time headquarters at 2520 West 51st St., Chicago. Strenuous efforts have been made to set up an organization in areas where the GOP is traditionally weak and Krasowski has campaigned energetically. Six months before the election, he was making daily appearances throughout the district, meeting voters and articulating the issues.

In six years Kluczynski has seen his winning margin shrink from 71,000 to 19,000 and the 32-year-old Krasowski is confident he can erase it altogether. At 71, Kluczynski is no longer in good health and will rely on the Daley machine to win him a tenth term. If re-elected, he will continue his knee-jerk support of Administration programs, including rent subsidies, model cities, foreign aid and the "War on Poverty."

New York's 5th District

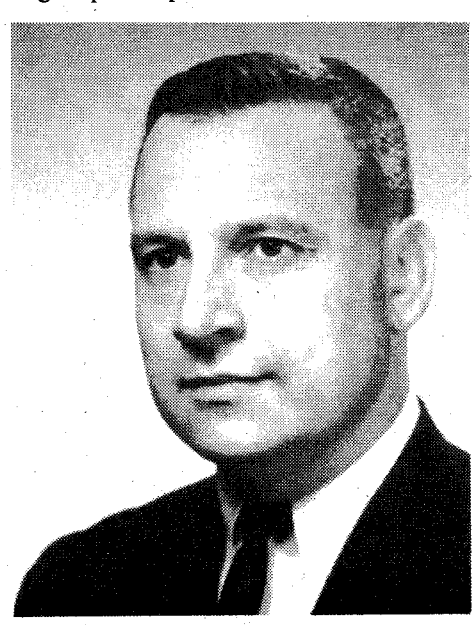
Hampton vs. Lowenstein

"I have no illusions that the world is my constituency," says Mason Hampton, the Republican nominee in New York's 5th Congressional District. "I'll be satisfied if I can do a good job for the people of Nassau County."

Hampston's barb is directed at Allard K. Lowenstein, the globe-trotting ultra-liberal who is his Democratic opponent for the seat that retiring Democrat Herbert Tenzer is vacating after two terms. Lowenstein, a 39-year-old lawyer who moved into the district only this spring, has long viewed himself as a veritable "citizen of the world."

A former president of the far-left National Student Association, Lowenstein served with Eleanor Roosevelt at the United Nations, helped organize anti-Franco rebels in Spain, then made a clandestine trip to Southwest Africa to aid insurgents there. He returned to the states to make an unsuccessful race for Congress from New York City in 1960 and three years later helped set up the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party, a group soon taken over by black nationalists and other extremists.

It was Lowenstein who pushed Eugene McCarthy into the presidential race last fall, organized the Conference of Concerned Democrats to agitate against the war, and takes credit for getting LBJ out of politics. Now he heads the Coalition for an Open Convention, a group of peace-oriented Democrats dedicated to the proposition that Humphrey's nomination would be a "disaster." Two weeks ago he was in Chicago, conferring with other peaceniks and arranging for one million demonstrators to converge on the August national convention.



MASON HAMPTON

Lowenstein's anti-Humphrey obsession is "just fine" with Hampton, who reports that many regular Democrats are flocking to his campaign. Democratic leaders admit privately that Lowenstein is jeopardizing any chance for victory by his divisive moves. "We'd have a difficult time holding this seat under ideal conditions," laments one Democratic pro.

Hampton, an enrolled member of the New York Conservative party, was nominated by 5th District GOP leaders who have put together a politically potent alliance with the fledgling Conservatives. He is the first Conservative party leader slated for Congress on the GOP ticket.

Hampton is making "high taxes, big spending, and the shopworn ways of the welfare state" his big issues. "We must substitute the qualities of private enterprise and local control in place of more massive federal programs and spending," he says. (Hampton for Congress headquarters: 740 Sunrise Highway, Baldwin, N.Y.)

Hampton rates the favorite in a district in which Republicans outnumber Democrats 3 to 2. The district was traditionally Republican until Democrat Tenzer was swept into office on LBJ's coattails four years ago. He was re-elected by a narrow margin two years later but apparently saw the handwriting on the wall and declined to seek a third term.

Hampton, an articulate 38-year-old attorney, will appear twice on the ballot—on both the Republican and Conservative lines. Lowenstein will appear only as the Democratic nominee, the Liberals having nominated a peacenik of their own, Henry Carr. The Liberal nominee will draw votes away from Lowenstein and in a close contest could guarantee Hampton's victory.

No. Carolina's 11th District

Harvey vs. Taylor

Political "experts" snickered when Winfield Scott Harvey announced his candidacy for Congress from North Carolina's 11th District two years ago. The 44-year-old businessman was all but unknown, they noted, a Republican running in a Democratic district against a four-term incumbent (Roy A. Taylor) who had waltzed to victory two years earlier.

But when the votes were tallied, the experts were no longer laughing. The under-financed Republican had run a strong campaign, slashing Taylor's winning margin from 30,000 to only 7,000 votes. Two years later, as Harvey takes on Taylor for a second time, the experts give him an excellent chance for victory.

Harvey, who captured the GOP primary 3 to 1, has taken a leave of absence to devote full time to the campaign. He is setting up an organization in each of the district's 16 counties and has recruited hundreds of hard-working volunteers. (Harvey for Congress Committee: 407 Northwestern Bank Building, Asheville, N. C. 28801.)

In talks before civic clubs, in coffee klatches at private homes, Harvey hammers at the main issues of his campaign: law and order, fiscal irresponsibility, the "inconclusiveness" of the Viet Nam war. He concedes that Taylor has established a moderately conservative voting record (ACA rating: 62) but adds:

"The most important vote of any session is the one that Taylor consistently casts wrong. That is the vote to organize the House, when Taylor goes on record supporting John McCormack for Speaker and such liberal spenders as Emanuel Celler for committee chairmen."

Taylor is clearly worried by Harvey's campaign. Two years ago his campaign consisted largely of a few billboards. This year he has launched a high-powered public relations campaign and returns to the district every weekend to solicit votes.

WINFIELD HARVEY

Taylor has good reason to be running scared. Harvey is a personable campaigner who is far better known than in 1966. His organization is considerably stronger. And the 11th District has demonstrated Republican tendencies in past elections. Both Eisenhower and Nixon carried it and of the district's 16 sheriffs seven are Republicans.

The 11th District is the only one in the state untouched by the legislature's redistricting of last year. Tacked onto the westernmost corner of the state, it is similar in many ways to the adjacent First District of Tennessee, long a GOP bastion.

Harvey has a valuable running mate in Jim Gardner, the hard-hitting popular young congressman who is the GOP nominee for governor. Gardner, who is expected to carry the district by a substantial margin, should lend support to the entire ticket.

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Justice William O. Douglas Should Also Leave the Court

By ALICE WIDENER

With all due respect to President Johnson, it seems he doesn't recognize the most needed change in the Supreme Court. Its status would be much improved if Justice William O. Douglas were to depart. The vagaries of his private life are his own affair, though they hardly enhance the national dignity; but those of his intellectual life can affect all Americans.

Justice Douglas views "The Unhappy State of the Nation" in the July 1968 issue of *The Center Magazine*, publication of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, Calif. (He is chairman of the Center's board of directors and lends his name to its fund-raising, a questionable activity for a Supreme Court justice.)

Liberal Justice Douglas has very outspoken views on the United States and the Cold War.

We Americans, Justice Douglas charges in his article, are "paranoid." Why? Because we are anti-Communist. "The Cold War," he writes, "has made us largely impotent abroad. The 'enemy' may indeed be any Communist country, whether it be prosperous [sic!] Outer Mongolia, progressive Yugoslavia, impoverished Viet Nam, or nearby Cuba."

Obviously, Justice Douglas identifies Viet Nam only as North Viet Nam.

"The Cold War," he writes, "was the creation of Stalin, Truman and Churchill. It was based on the theory that communism was not only evil but expansionist, not only ravenous but guided and controlled by some evil genie that would one day consume the world."

Even the Communists themselves brand Stalin as an evil genie. Justice Douglas has a short memory in his old age. After World War II (in which the Soviet Union was rescued from defeat by American tanks, trucks, lend-lease and military aid in Europe), President Truman and Prime Minister Churchill did their level best to cooperate with Stalin. The Cold War started when the Soviet Union became openly expansionist, gobbling up all East Europe. Justice Douglas mentions Moscow, Peking and Hanoi, but he doesn't mention Bucharest, Budapest, Berlin, Sofia and Prague. Nor does he mention that if it had not been for the Truman Doctrine, the cities of Athens and Ankara would have been added to the Red-conquered capitals.

Justice Douglas says America is like the pinned-down giant in *Gulliver's Travels*. "One group of pygmies carries the banner of the Cold War; the other flies the flag of racism." As evidence of the latter, he propounds the nasty, Communist-coined propaganda that our war in Viet Nam is racist. The twisted nature of the argument goes like this:

"When the whites of Eastern Europe opted for communism (or were forced into it) we did not send expeditionary forces to oppose them. But the colored people of Asia fare differently. The Yellow Peril is an old slogan that our press has exploited. Discrimination against the Chinese and Japanese has long been a force in our lives. . . ."

In Eastern Europe the hapless people did not opt for communism; we were not in treaty alliance with them and their governments did not request our military aid. Justice Douglas knows this but says nothing about it. He also says nothing about American alliance and friendship with the people of South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Thailand and other regions in Asia.

"The American mind got so conditioned to 'anti-communism' that we became paranoid," declares Justice Douglas. Them's harsh words! How does he describe the anti-Communist French people today? Possibly in terms not fit to print. Whatever his opinion of them and us, it would be better if Justice William O. Douglas were to relinquish his seat on the bench of our highest court. Its loftiness has gone to his head. He ought to be made to climb down so he can see pigmy Harry S. Truman and can remember pigmy Winston Churchill in truer perspective.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

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Unwanted Food Aid In Wibaux County

Despite the protests of city, county and state officials, the Department of Agriculture is planning to force a food giveaway program on Wibaux County, Mont. Wibaux County was one of 256 (out of 3,090) in the United States declared an area of hunger and malnutrition by an April survey. The study was conducted by a United Auto Workers group, under the aegis of UAW President Walter Reuther.

The House Committee on Agriculture, which investigated the hunger report, declared it "unofficial, inaccurate, misleading. . . ." Despite this investigation, Secretary of Agriculture Freeman immediately declared all 256 counties distressed, and undertook plans to force feed them, through the department's Consumer Food Program.

Dr. Charles A. Bush, health officer for Wibaux County, has offered to donate $100 to the favorite charity of any individual who can find a single case of hunger in Wibaux County. He stated, "For 25 years I have known almost every resident of these two counties [Wibaux, Mont., and Golden Valley, N.D.] and the adjacent communities . . . and no such condition exists or has existed in that time." Senators Mike Mansfield and Lee Metcalf of Montana joined county and state officials, including State Controller Ralph C. Kenyon, in requesting that the plan be abandoned and Agriculture Department personnel withdrawn. However, according to Charles Ernst, western director of the Consumer and Food Marketing Service, the government plans to go ahead with its food distribution program in Wibaux.

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The Reagan Recall Drive

By MORRIE RYSKIND

We Californians are conditioned to our state's political vagaries, but others find our quirks enigmatic. Here is a typical letter of many inquiring about the current movement to recall Gov. Reagan:

"What gives? Didn't this same Reagan beat Gov. Brown by over a million votes in November 1966, and hasn't he proven himself a mighty drawing card at GOP fund-raising dinners throughout the land? Has California opinion shifted so strongly that there's a genuine grass-roots demand for his recall? Frankly, I smell a rat."

Well, sir, I smell a whole nest of them. But I fear it will take more than one column to explain what gives.

Let's start with the procedure for gubernatorial recall, enacted into state law in 1911. It requires the signatures of only 12 per cent of all those who voted in the election which the incumbent won to secure another election in which the voters decide whether to retain him in office.

Obviously, this is a weapon to be used sparingly. The only justification for invoking it is some flagrant act of malfeasance.

Otherwise—used for sheer malice—it becomes a nihilistic perversion of representative government. For any dissident minority unwilling to abide by majority rule has the potential to muster the necessary 12 per cent. Only in Communist countries can any candidate claim the affections of 89 per cent of his constituency.

Your man is defeated? Just get enough signatures from those who backed the losers and you force another election. And if you're beaten again, why, draw up another petition. The result would be chaos.

So self-evident is this that no motion for the recall of a governor has ever garnered sufficient signatures. Incidentally, during Pat Brown's tenure, three such attempts died a-borning because no responsible group, no matter how much it disliked Pat, would back them. The time to displace Pat was at the end of his term—as Reagan did when he unseated him in the traditional American way.

There were two efforts to recall Reagan as early as 1967—indeed, the threats started right after his inauguration, which is revealing—that similarly got nowhere. So, when this latest movement began, nobody paid it much mind.

The first notice of it to the general public came when the dailies ran a picture of Edwin A. Koupal, described as and "unemployed used-car salesman," and his 15-year-old daughter limping into Sacramento with a banner reading, "Recall Reagan!" It seems these Passionate Pilgrims had walked 241 miles all the way from Delano, a small town southeast of our capital, in a hegira to restore decent government to California.

And, they asserted, they had been sustained in their trek by obtaining 50,000 additional signatures to their petition en route. That gave them 650,000 out of the total of 780,414 they needed.

Koupal denies any political prompting and claims the idea as his very own. He was so disturbed by Reagan, who, he says, "is out to destroy the middle class," that he drew upon his savings, borrowed an additional $2,000 from his mother-in-law, and set about on his project alone.

That may well be, though of late some political activists are getting aboard and some 11,000 are said to be getting signatures. There is backing—and money—from the International Association of Machinists, which boasts 180,000 members in the state.

And it is surely noteworthy that the famous upholder of law and order, Pat Brown, signed the recall petition in Sacramento. That signature is invalid because—by popular demand—Pat no longer resides in that fair city. "However," he is quoted, "I'll be glad to sign another in Los Angeles." Good old grass-roots Pat! If he ever again holds public office, this time I'll be more than glad to sign a petition for his recall. In fact, I may pull a Koupal and start the whole thing off myself.

But, win or lose, the "unemployed used-car salesman" is certain to land a job soon. Any unknown who can single-handedly get 750,000 signatures (the latest figure) is bound to be snapped up. I look forward to seeing Mr. Koupal peddling his specialty on the late, late show before long.

There is, however, considerable question about the validity of many of the signatures. I shall consider this in my next piece.

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AS THE POOR SEE IT—A Bucknell University economics professor who has been conducting a study of the poor whites living in Pennsylvania's section of Appalachia has concluded that the federal government's view of these poor, and the way the poor view themselves, is frequently at odds. Speaking of his study subjects, Dr. William H. Cooper observed that "They will work on a job that they can get by on, but the job is of less significance to them than hunting, fishing or doing as they please, and they do not extend themselves in the direction of increasing their incomes." Dr. Cooper's conclusion, reports Bucknell's alumni publication, is that "those who want and need help should get it, but there are some who are happy as they are."

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What Does U.S. Gain From Paris Talks?

By WALTER TROHAN

The Paris talks on the war in Viet Nam may lack accomplishment, but they are of tremendous importance to Communist North Viet Nam and only the shadow of a promise to the United States.

The talks are of great value to Ho Chi Minh because while they go on there will be no bombing of 75 per cent of the area of North Viet Nam which contains 90 per cent of the population. In demanding a total halt to bombing, the North Vietnamese are talking only of that quarter of their country which is not well developed and contains only a small fraction of the population.

President Johnson halted bombing in hopes of bringing the North Vietnamese to the bargaining table. They have come to the table not to bargain but to propagandize for a total bombing halt, while they build up their military potential and step up their infiltration of South Viet Nam.

The American bombing of North Viet Nam has not been total war bombing in the north. If it had been American airmen might have leveled Hanoi and destroyed the harbor of Haiphong through which the North Vietnamese get the bulk of their arms. Also American airmen, as W. Averell Harriman, chief American negotiator, has stated in Paris, could have ruined irrigation dikes to destroy the rice crop so that some five million North Vietnamese would die by starvation.

The only thing the United States is getting out of the Paris talks, now down to one-a-week sessions lasting as few as three hours including translation, is the dubious comfort that while there is talk there is hope.

Gen. Ira C. Eaker, former chief of staff of the Air Force and one of the country's greatest air fighters, has called for resumption of bombing. He emphasized that all experienced military leaders opposed the bombing reprieve, because they were aware the North Vietnamese would take advantage of it to rush supplies, weapons and men south.

"These predictions have now been completely verified by events," he advised this commentator. "The broken rail and road net has been repaired. The three million people previously occupied in this effort are now being diverted to military service or into agriculture or into weapons repair and delivery. The anti-aircraft defenses formerly around Hanoi have now moved south, greatly increasing our plane losses.

"During the weeks since the bombing of the north was halted, the rate of flow of military supplies, weapons and people moving into South Viet Nam has more than doubled. More than 40,000 North Vietnamese regulars have invaded South Viet Nam since March 1. As a consequence United States and allied casualties have been much heavier than prior to the bombing halt.

"There has been no reciprocity or de-escalation of the Red effort of any kind. President Johnson's experiment sacrificed many thousands of lives in vain. One thing the present limitation has proven beyond further doubt is that bombing of North Viet Nam, even though restricted as in the past, did tremendously reduce Red invasion of the south."

In calling for an end to the bombing pause, Gen. Eaker said the Communist enemy should not be permitted to pile weapons and supplies in city and village streets. He added that sufficient warning can be given the civilian population so that they may be evacuated but the enemy's war-making potential must be curbed.

"To permit the North Vietnamese to attack South Vietnamese cities without mercy while theirs are spared is intolerable," he said. "The next time our embassy in Saigon is attacked, Ho's Hanoi palace should be laid flat. The next time the American headquarters is shelled, the North Vietnamese headquarters should be destroyed."

(1968, Chicago Tribune-N.Y. News Syndicate)

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

On Gun Controls

By REP. JOHN HUNT (R.-N.J.)

I have been very much concerned over the developing tide of emotionalism surrounding gun control legislation, and particularly the piecemeal manner in which the President has chosen to make his views known to Congress. On June 19 the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 was signed into law which includes provisions to substantially control certain traffic and sales of handguns. At the same time, the President avowed he would press for the extension of these provisions to cover long guns, a plea that was promptly taken up by the respective committees in both the House and Senate. Within days another message was submitted to Congress calling for national registration and licensing, to include a photograph and fingerprints, of all guns and gun possessors.

It is time for a moratorium on mass demonstrations. It is time for courts to stop catering to criminals. It is time for living by the law. It is time for praying preachers and fewer political parsons. It is time to stop exploiting the fears and prejudices of minorities. It is time for politicians to stop overpromising. It is time for civil rights leaders to be civil. It is time for students to study, and it is time for workers to work. It is time to reflect upon our past and to think about those principles that have made us the greatest of nations—those embodied in the Constitution.

And yet, throughout the consideration of gun control legislation over the years, the real gun menace—the criminal—is made reference to in a barrage of statistics, presumably to demonstrate that it is the gun which is the culprit and with the inference that stringent gun laws will deprive "the vicious, the irresponsible, and the insane" of a tool with which to commit a criminal act. Not a word is implicit in all of this legislation that would provide for strong deterrents to the criminal user or carrier of a firearm in the commission of a felony by the imposition of severe penalties.

It is this person that society must be protected from rather than being lured into believing that the deranged individual will be less a potential criminal or his acts less damaging by a complacency that he can be prevented from coming into the possession of a firearm. Taken to its logical conclusion, the only gun control legislation that might approach effectiveness in accomplishing this would be to outlaw all guns, except for duly constituted law enforcement authorities, so that it can then be presumed that anyone possessing a gun is a potential criminal. Surely, this is not the weight or intent of public opinion.

Fortas' Record

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S.C.)

Justice Abe Fortas is not only a close friend of President Johnson, he is also a protege of Earl Warren. In the 1966-67 term, Justice Fortas agreed with Warren on 97 out of a possible 112 decisions, a record of accord with Warren exceeded only by Justice Brennan. If the Senate confirms this appointment, we will be confirming an extraconstitutional arrangement by which the Supreme Court justices can so arrange their resignations as to perpetuate their influence and their ideology on the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court already exercises a profound influence on the lives of Americans. Very few checks are available to make this influence responsive to the will of the people. Let us not make the Supreme Court even further removed from the democratic process by confirming a patent attempt by the chief justice to insure perpetuation of his influence on the Court.

Unjust Tax Break

By REP. BILL BROCK (R.-Tenn.)

Four months ago, as the "Poor Peoples' Campaign" prepared to descend on Washington in an undisguised effort to apply political pressure on Congress, I suggested that the federal government withdraw tax-exempt status from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Southern Christian Leadership Foundation.

At that time the Internal Revenue Service claimed that it still considered the SCLC and SCLF to be legitimate civic and charitable organizations, not political pressure groups, and so Ralph Abernathy and his followers continued their work of political intimidation, mass demonstrations and civil disobedience with the special blessings of the federal government and tax-exempt status.

The subsequent behavior of Mr. Abernathy and the inhabitants and organizers of Resurrection City has made it painfully clear that my claims were true, and the clearing of Resurrection City and removal of Ralph Abernathy to the District of Columbia Jail have left the taxpayers with a whopping bill for police costs, sanitation expenses and restoration of the park area. Conservative estimates run well over $1 million, far in excess of the $5,000 bond posted by Mr. Abernathy.

It is unjust to expect the American taxpayer to have to pay for cleaning up after Ralph Abernathy and his adherents while their organizations, which are responsible for the unwarranted expenses, enjoy special treatment as tax-exempt groups.

No group engaged in intensive political lobbying is entitled to tax-exempt status. This abuse of our tax regulations must not be allowed to continue.

Reconfirm Terms

By REP. ED GURNEY (R.-Fla.)

I am introducing an amendment to the Constitution to require Supreme Court justices to be subject to reconfirmation by the U. S. Senate every six years. In other words, the appointment of a Supreme Court justice would be for six years, unless prior to the end of the six-year period, the U.S. Senate took specific action to reconfirm the appointment for another six-year term. The present law governing the terms of Supreme Court justices make their appointment a lifetime appointment, or until they voluntarily resign themselves. This is entirely too long for any man to serve unchecked in any kind of a job. Under this system, a Supreme Court justice is, indeed, a law into himself, and there is absolutely no check and balance on his decisions as a member of the court. Increasingly, our Supreme Court decisions are changing the entire course of the political economic and social life of this nation. In the eyes of many, the decisions of the court are invading the legislative field, and many of their actions are not interpretations but actual law making, legislating, invasion of the area reserved under our Constitution for the Congress of the United States.

Aid to Hanoi

By REP. CHARLES CHAMBERLAIN (R.-Mich.)

Seventeen more free-world flag ships sailed into North Viet Nam this past June, and still we hear no word of protest from the Administration.

The total number of free world arrivals for the first half of 1968 stands at 78, or exactly the very same number for the entire year of 1967. In other words, this aid and comfort to the enemy is now just double what it was a year ago.

The volume of this trade is up 60 per cent since the President announced the bombing restrictions on March 31, from an average of 10 per month for the first three months of 1968 to an average of 16 per month during the second quarter of the year, and yet the Administration expresses no concern.

So far this year the cargo capability of these free world ships has amounted to over a half-million tons, and this includes six tankers. We are not supposed to talk about what these tankers carry, but one does not have to speculate very long to conclude that strategic goods are involved, and still the Administration makes no effort to let the American people know about this.

This war is kept going only by supplies—without them the enemy cannot continue to fight—certainly, with our casualties now double what they were a year ago, this is no time to concede the enemy anything.

When the possibility of a negotiated peace depends so much on the free world standing firm, we cannot continue to ignore this problem of free world aid to the enemy without paying for it later with the lives of American boys. Frankly, I have about concluded that the Administration simply does not care and is not even trying.

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House Trims, Then Passes Housing Bill

Following is the 271-to-137 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives on July 10 voted to adopt an amendment to the Administration's $5.3-billion housing bill which would provide that no family would be eligible for direct subsidies if the income were over 30 per cent above the level set for local public housing eligibility. Another rollcall vote eliminated $60 million in services while the final bill passed on a 295-to-114 vote later the same day. See story on page 3.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 101

Abbitt
Abernethy
Andrews (Ala.)
Ashmore
Aspinall
Baring
Bennett
Bevill
Boland
Brinkley
Burleson
Cabell
Casey
Colmer
Culver
Davis (Ga.)
de la Garza
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Edmondson
Edwards (La.)
Evans (Colo.)
Fallon
Fascell
Fisher
Flynt
Foley
Fountain
Fuqua
Gathings
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Green (Ore.)
Hagan
Haley
Hamilton
Hanley
Hardy
Hays
Hebert
Henderson
Herlong
Hicks
Hull
Ichord
Jarman
Jones (Ala.)
Jones (Mo.)
Jones (N.C.)
Karth
Kazen
Kornegay
Landrum
Leggett
Lennon
Long (La.)
Long (Md.)
Machen
Mahon
Marsh
Mills
Monagan
Montgomery
Natcher
Nichols
O'Neal (Ga.)
Passman
Pike
Poage
Pool
Pucinski
Purcell
Randall
Rarick
Rivers
Roberts
Rogers (Fla.)
Roush
Satterfield
Selden
Slack
Smith (Iowa
Steed
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Taylor
Teague (Tex.)
Tuck
Vanik
Vigorito
Watts
White
Whitener
Whitten
Wright
Yates
Young

REPUBLICANS FOR: 170

Adair
Anderson (Ill.)
Andrews (N.D.)
Arends
Ashbrook
Ayres
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Berry
Betts
Biester
Blackburn
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Brock
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown (Mich.)
Brown (Ohio)
Broyhill (N.C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan
Burke (Fla.)
Burton (Utah)
Bush
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cahill
Carter
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Cowger
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtis
Davis (Wis.)
Dellenback
Denney
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Duncan
Dwyer
Edwards (Ala.)
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Findley
Fino
Ford, Gerald
Frelinghuysen
Fulton (Pa.)
Goodell
Goodling
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Hall
Hammerschmidt
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Hosmer
Hunt
Hutchinson
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas
Keith
King (N.Y.)
Kleppe
Kuykendall
Kyl
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Lukens
McClory
McCloskey
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald (Mich.)
McEwen
Mailliard
Martin
Mathias (Calif.)
Mathias (Md.)
May
Mayne
Meskill
Michel
Miller (Ohio)
Minshall
Mize
Morse (Mass.)
Morton
Mosher
Myers
O'Konski
Pelly
Pettis
Pirnie
Poff
Pollock
Price (Tex.)
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Reid (Ill.)
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Riegle
Robison
Roth
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Sandman
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schwengel
Scott
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Smith (N.Y.)
Smith (Okla.)
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger (Ariz.)
Steiger (Wis.)
Taft
Talcott
Teague (Calif.)
Thompson (Ga.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Utt
Vander Jagt
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Whalley
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams (Pa.)
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Zion
Zwach

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 129

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Annunzio
Ashley
Barrett
Bingham
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Bolling
Brasco
Brooks
Brown (Calif.)
Burke (Mass.)
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Carey
Celler
Clark
Cohelan
Conyers
Corman
Daddario
Daniels
Dawson
Delaney
Dent
Diggs
Donohue
Dow
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edwards (Calif.)
Eilberg
Everett
Farbstein
Feighan
Flood
Ford, William
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton (Tenn.)
Galifianakis
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green (Pa.)
Griffin
Griffiths
Hanna
Hansen (Wash.)
Hathaway
Hechler (W.Va.)
Helstoski
Holifield
Howard
Hungate
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson (Calif.)
Kastenmeier
Kee
Kelly
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kyros
McFall
Macdonald (Mass.)
Madden
Matsunaga
Meeds
Miller (Calif.)
Minish
Mink
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris (N.M.)
Moss
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
Olsen
O'Neill (Mass.)
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Podell
Price (Ill.)
Pryor
Rees
Reuss
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rodino
Rogers (Colo.)
Ronan
Rooney (N.Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Shipley
Sikes
Sisk
Staggers
Sullivan
Tenzer
Thompson (N.J.)
Tiernan
Udall
Ullman
Waldie
Walker
Wilson, Charles
Wolff
Zablocki

REPUBLICAN AGAINST: 8

Button
Gude
Halpern
Horton
Kupferman
Reid (N.Y.)
Schweiker
Whalen

NOT VOTING: 25

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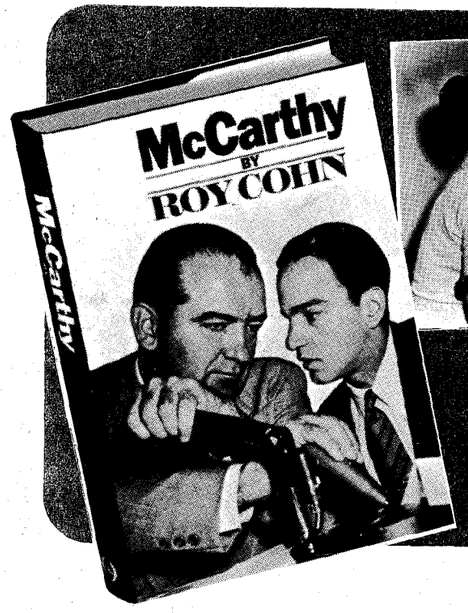

McCarthy produces letter to Army officials from J. Edgar Hoover citing subversion at Fort Monmouth and links between Monmouth employees and Rosenberg-Sobell spy ring. Does this trouble the Liberals? Silly question. They ignore the Communists, wax indignant over how McCarthy got the letter.

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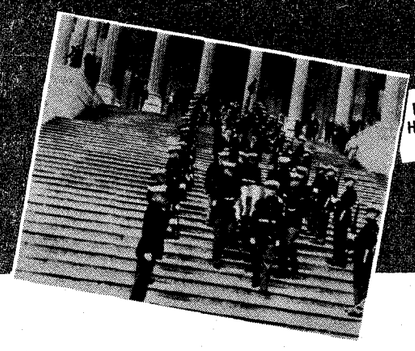

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★McCarthy and the Kennedys. The romance that almost was. Papa Joe's endless phone calls.

> **"It's grisly. They're yelling at the cop who got the goods on the murderer. They don't give a damn about the murderer — they only want to know how the cop got the proof."**
> **— Senator Joe McCarthy**

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